Workers Of The World, Unite!

THE MILITANT

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Capitalist Greed Blamed In Texas Blast

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BIG RALLIES HIT ANTI-LABOR BILLS

Workers' World — Or None!

May Day Manifesto

Of The Socialist Workers Party

On May Day 1947—less than two years after the end of World War II—the people of America and the world face the dread danger of a third imperialist slaughter. This is the sinister meaning of the Truman-Marshall doctrine which has proclaimed Wall Street's plans for world conquest by armed force.

The Truman-Marshall proposals for Greece and Turkey are presented as acts to preserve peace and prevent war; in actuality they are carefully calculated steps in preparation for another world conflict. All the bloody sacrifices, anguish and toil exacted from the combatants on both sides of the battlefronts; fifty millions killed and many more maimed and diseased; entire countries and continents pauperized and ruined; thousands of cities and centers of civilization wiped out — all have gone for nothing but to set the stage for a new war against the peoples of Europe and Asia, war against the Soviet Union, and war against the American workers.

Subdue the colonial peoples fighting for independence! Hold down the European workers struggling for socialism! Support the capitalists, monarchists, militarists, and fascists in their savage assaults upon the toiling masses!

Police the world for the benefit of Wall Street! Prepare to destroy the Soviet Union!

These are the mandates of the monopolists in their mad quest for world supremacy. The Truman-Marshall doctrine gives blunt notice that America's militarists are going full speed ahead to carry them out. They possess the mightiest military machine in all history. They control the atom bomb. And they are ready to use these and other murderous weapons against any one who dares resist the dictates of Wall Street.

Imperialists Preparing New War

This monstrous doctrine demonstrates how cruelly and cynically the Allied spokesmen lied to their peoples and deceived them about the real nature of the last war. They declared that defeat of the Axis nations would eliminate aggressors and war-makers. Yet since V-J Day there has been no peace for the peoples either in Europe or in Asia.

They promised that victory for the Allies would bring the blessings of "Four Freedoms." But where is there "freedom from fear?" From Germany to Korea occupation troops terrorize the inhabitants and prop up the most tyrannical regimes. Where is there "freedom from want?" The majority of the inhabitants of the globe are menaced by famine. Even in the world's richest country high prices prevent tens of millions of working class families from buying the nourishing food they need.

They promised that harmonious collaboration among the "Big Three" and the United Nations Organization would create the conditions for true and lasting peace. Already the Big Three are at each other's throats. And now Truman has unceremoniously kicked aside the United Nations the moment such a course suited Wall Street's aims.

Greece, which provided the pretext for the proclamation of Trman's doctrine, is itself the best witness to the hypocrisy of Wall Street's propaganda. Instead of peace, civil war rages there. Instead of democracy, the Anglo-American powers have saddled a vicious monarchist dictatorship upon the country which they support with loans and military aid. Instead of freedom from fear, a reign of terror has been unleashed against the workers, peasants, and even liberal intellectuals. Instead of plenty and security — inflation, starvation and dire poverty prevails. These are the real consequences of World War II and Anglo-American intervention in Greece!

How does it happen that the terrible threat of another war looms so soon? The answer lies in the imperialist appetites and aims of the ruling Sixty Families who control the government at Washington and dictate its policies.

Wall Street Drive For World Power

American Big Business entered the World War not to make the world safe for democracy or to end fascism but to make Wall Street the center of world tribute and Washington the headquarters of world power. With the crushing of Germany and Japan and the weakening of its allies, the United States emerged as the foremost power on the planet. But Wall Street has far from secured the unchallenged mastery it seeks.

Victory in World War II has solved none of the fundamental economic and political problems that plagued American capitalism during the depression of the Thirties. It only rendered them more acute and their solution more urgent. U. S. economy which stagnated for lack of markets in the pre-war period doubled its productive capacities during the war. Now, after the war, American capitalism must monopolize the entire world market in order to keep its swollen and top-heavy economic apparatus in operation and continue to extract superprofits at the expense of the masses.

The war and postwar booms, in which the workers were hard-hit by frozen wages, skyrocketing prices and artificial scarcities of goods, have vastly enriched America's monopolists. But the rest of the world has been so impoverished it is incapable of absorbing the enormous output of the factories and farms of the United States. Even billions in loans do not help stabilize the economies of the ruined countries, as the severe crisis in England this winter shows.

At home capitalist greed and anarchy are driving the country to another economic disaster. Truman's economic advisers have already warned him that a serious slump is imminent because soaring prices have slashed purchasing power by more than 40%, because this year's corporation profits are piling up at twice the rate of 1929;

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PhoneStrikers Standing Firm In Third Week

By Alan Kohlman

April 22 — Coast-to-coast solidarity was the watchword as 350,000 phone workers entered the third week of their strike yesterday. Having decisively rejected Secretary of Labor's Schwellenbach's phoney arbitration proposal, the National Federation of Telephone Workers tightened its ranks against a company inspired back-to-work movement which has made no dent in the nationwide strike.

The AT&T-Bell trust has arrogantly refused to resume negotiations and even to make a compromise offer on wages. They expected that they could crack the strike front and that two weeks without pay would be enough to bring the phone workers back on their knees. But despite all company attempts to organize a back-to-work movement, and despite police violence in Detroit, Louisville and other cities, the picket lines are holding firm.

BEARS BRUNT

Interest still centers on the New Jersey strikers who have successfully borne the brunt of state strikebreaking. Instead of Governor Driscoll's new laws being able to drive the phone workers back to work, they only stiffened the resistance of the phone workers and brought heavy support from the CIO and AFL. The determined stand of the unions has forced the state administration to beat a partial retreat.

The closing session of the State Legislature this morning voted to eliminate jail sentences from the new law and to reduce individual fines to $25-250 per day, instead of the previous $250-500. The reduced penalties still are sharply opposed by the union movement.

Other new amendments adopted by the legislature enable the state to seek injunctions against strikers to enforce the original law. Driscoll has declared that the amendments

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Detroit Workers Respond To Call For Mass Rally

DETROIT, Apr. 21 — The call of the CIO United Automobile Workers union for a monster mass demonstration in Cadillac Square on Thursday to protest the mounting anti-labor drive, has met with enthusiastic response here.

The International UAW Board, meeting in New York on April 15, accepted the proposal of Briggs Local 212 that all UAW plants be shut down on the day of the rally. The call summoned the 500,000 members of UAW local unions in Detroit to cease work from 2 to 7 p.m. in order to participate in the demonstration. It was announced by Percy Llewellyn, UAW Regional Director, who stated that CIO, AFL and independent unions were being invited to join the demonstration.

Presidents and executive boards of local UAW unions here swung into action with spirit and vigor to assure a mass turnout of Detroit workers. Mimeographed directives were issued to the workers in the plants. Thousands of placards with slogans were prepared for the marchers. Among the slogans approved as standard for all locals were the following:

Defend Your Union! Revive the Spirit of '37! The Cause of Labor Is the Cause of All the Common People! Stop Murder of Miners — Human Life Before Profits! Labor — CIO-AFL-Independent Unions — Can Win — Fighting Together! Red-baiting Is the Bosses' Weapon to Destroy Labor — Don't Fall for It! End Job Discrimination — Support FEPC! Smash Jim Crow!

Individual locals will also carry their own banners and slogans.

Picket AT&T Meeting

Disregarding the driving rain, telephone workers (and a stockholder) picket the annual stockholders meeting at the AT&T building in New York. Inside, the telephone union lawyer charged AT&T directors with "hatching a conspiracy" against labor. Federated Picture

For A Nation-Wide 24-Hour Stoppage

An Editorial

The future of the American union movement is at stake — perhaps its very existence! All sections of the union movement were jolted into recognition of this fact last week when the most unrestrained labor-busting bill in American history was passed by a vote of 3 to 1 in the House of Representatives. A majority of Democrats and Republicans alike voted yes on this diabolical plot to cut labor's throat.

Lobbying visits to Washington and letters to Congressmen — the main defensive action proposed to the workers by Murray, Green, and the Stalinist misleaders in the CIO and AFL — had no effect at all in halting the anti-labor drive in the House. Such a cowardly policy will have no more effect in the Senate. The time for pussyfooting pleas is past.

What is needed now is action! Action that will give full expression to the workers' burning anger. Demonstrations in Detroit, Chicago, Iowa and New York show that the workers are determined not to be bound, gagged and left helpless victims of the Big Business attacks on their rights and living standards. Such action must take place on a national scale to mobilize the forces of labor in struggle against the Congressional agents of Big Business.

A 24-hour nation-wide general protest demonstration would warn Washington in no uncertain terms that American workers will not be slaves — that they are opposed to repressive legislation and will not stand for it if it is passed.

Union militants! Show your determination and strength through local demonstrations against the conspirators in Washington. Put pressure on your hesitant leaders, the way the Detroit workers did when they compelled the UAW-CIO International officers to support a huge demonstration in Cadillac Square this week.

For a 24-hour protest stoppage against union-busting legislation!

For a national United Labor Conference of CIO, AFL and Railroad Brotherhood locals to coordinate and extend mass action against the anti-labor bills!

Roar Of Protest Over Passage Of Hartley Measure

A roar of protest from coast to coast is labor's answer to the riotous cheers with which Wall Street's representatives in the House shoved through the savagely anti-labor Hartley omnibus bill. In mighty demonstrations, the American workers are showing that they are in no mood to stand like cattle while Wall Street knocks them down with a legislative sledge hammer.

The day before passage of the Hartley measure, 20,000 Chicago packinghouse workers staged a one-hour work stoppage. They marched from the plants April 16, many of them still in blood-stained work clothes, into the square facing the general offices of Swift & Co. There they shouted approval of resolutions denouncing the Big Business drive against labor.

"This great demonstration was called," said one of the union spokesmen, "to let Chicago, the world, and the boys in Congress know that the packinghouse workers won't take repressive anti-labor bills lying down."

In New Jersey, the telephone strikers continued their courageous refusal to bow before the state slave-labor bill written by a Bell Telephone director and ground through the legislative mill in two hours by the servile Governor Driscoll. The heroic women operators' resistance to this bill helped inspire the demonstrations throughout the country against Wall Street's union-smashing legislative drive.

On April 22 an estimated 100,000 workers in Iowa, under joint AFL-CIO auspices, stopped work for one day to protest a pending state bill to outlaw the closed shop. The stoppage was felt in every large center in the state.

In Des Moines the walkout affected streetcars, taxi service, trucking and building. Liquor stores and taverns closed. A mass rally of 20,000 workers on the lawns of the state capitol angrily booed Governor Robert D. Blue, who addressed them.

John Conally, Jr., counsel for the AFL and CIO, told the crowd that "Our reward for winning the war is this legislature's attempt to take away our rights which we have had for 30 years."

As The Militant goes to press, giant demonstrations are in preparation in other areas. In Detroit 400,000 auto workers planned a city-wide stoppage April 24 to protest passage of anti-labor legislation.

In New York the CIO Council scheduled a demonstration April 22 at Madison Square Park. And in Pennsylvania the State AFL called for a rank and file march on Harrisburg, state capital, April 23, the same day the State CIO convention opens there.

15 Cents An Hour Granted In New Wage Agreements

April 22 — Signing of a contract by U.S. Steel and the CIO United Steelworkers appeared this week to have set the wage pattern for most industries which have not yet signed contracts for 1947.

Under this contract 142,000 U.S. Steel workers get general raises of 12½ cents an hour plus another 2½ cents covering adjustment of wage inequities and differentials. It is retroactive to April 1 and runs for two years, with a clause permitting reopening of wage negotiations in one year. The steel union dropped its demands for portal pay and the closed shop. The contract renewed maintenance of membership and the check-off.

The steel agreement came a few days after the CIO United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers had settled for a 15 cents raise for 30,000 General Motors workers and 75,000 Westinghouse workers.

United Auto Workers' negotiations with GM are still going on, but it was reported last night in Detroit that a settlement at about 15 cents an hour had been agreed on.

Such an agreement would probably be the signal for similar agreements with the other big auto corporations, Chrysler and Ford.

Last month the CIO United Rubber Workers signed a contract with the rubber "Big Four" for an 11½ cents an hour raise and the right to reopen the wage question after 120 days. The packinghouse workers had previously settled for 7½ cents an hour plus additional geographical, holiday and sick leave adjustments.

The phone workers have indicated a willingness to call off their strike if the phone monopoly would make a wage offer of $6 weekly and agree to submit remaining wage and other issues to arbitration.

The United Mine Workers and the soft coal mine owners are scheduled to resume negotiations in Washington next week, in preparation for June 30 when government control over the mines expires along with the Smith-Connally Act.

Only one national wage contract has safeguards to protect the workers' living standards against rising prices. That is the escalator clause contract of the CIO Oil Workers International and Sinclair Oil. Sinclair workers got an 18 cents wage boost when the contract was signed in Nov., 1946, and an additional 7 cents on Jan. 1, when the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics cost-of-living index showed a rise of 7 points during the last three months of 1946.

Socialist Workers Party May Day Manifesto

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because workers' real wages have dropped by one-third. At the peak of its brief postwar spree American capitalism confronts a new economic crisis of inestimable proportions! Like their German and Japanese forerunners, the U. S. imperialists are trying to stave off this crisis by adopting a war program.

On top of these increasing economic difficulties at home and abroad, America's Sixty Richest Families find extremely formidable obstacles standing in the way of their scheme for converting the earth into a vast slave empire. First of all, they are meeting resistance from the European and colonial peoples who are striving to throw off capitalist barbarism and imperialist oppression.

European capitalism has been temporarily rescued from destruction, thanks to the Anglo-American occupation forces and the betrayals of the revolutionary mass movements by the Social Democrats on the one hand and by the Kremlin and the Stalinist parties on the other. Nevertheless, the governments which upheld the rule of the rich in continental Europe are extremely shaky. The still undefeated European workers who are desperately seeking the way out of the present chaos and misery remain a constant threat to the maintenance of capitalist power.

In Asia, the Middle East and Africa the colonial peoples have lifted their heads and are engaged in tenacious struggles to cast off the French, British and Dutch slavemasters. The Chinese workers and peasants are fighting to rid themselves of the blood-stained, corrupt dictatorship of Chiang Kai-shek. All the military aid and money supplied by Washington have not enabled any of these reactionary governments to stamp out the liberation movements in the colonial countries.

Workers Face Common Enemy

The toiling masses throughout the world confront a common enemy in monopoly capitalism headed by American Big Business. The miners in the Ruhr and the miners in the United States quit the pits at the same time in protest against the harsh rule of the imperialists. The fight against war and all the other evils of capitalism is a worldwide fight.

American boys in uniform are being murdered for Chiang Kai-shek in China; others are quartered as policemen in Germany and elsewhere. They want to come home. They do not want to be tools for enslaving other peoples.

Withdraw all troops from foreign soil!

Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the European and colonial masses!

For the right of self-determination of all nations!

The second barrier to Wall Street's plans for world subjugation is the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union today stands in extreme danger. It is imperiled from without by the tightening encirclement and war moves of Anglo-American imperialism.

The Soviet Union remains closed to penetration by world capital. Wall Street will not relent until it has succeeded in breaking down the monopoly of foreign trade and has exacted concessions from the Kremlin which would undermine and weaken the nationalized and planned economy. Wall Street will be satisfied with nothing less than the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and its dismemberment for the benefit of imperialism.

The U. S. imperialists are impelled to move against the Kremlin and its foreign agencies not because they are totalitarian in character or because they seek to establish Communism in the rest of the world. They get along very well with dictators like Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, to mention no others. And they know that both Stalin and the Stalinist parties have worked to preserve capitalism in Europe, not to overthrow it.

Stalin Betrays Soviet Union

The Stalin regime and its foreign agencies have rendered invaluable services to Anglo-American imperialism, rescuing capitalism from extinction by helping to strangle the revolutionary movement which came out of the war. But behind the Stalinist-dominated governments and Stalinist parties Wall Street sees the potentially insurgent working masses who must be totally crushed before capitalism can regain any economic or political equilibrium in Europe or Asia. And behind the despotic regime of the Stalinist bureaucracy in Russia they see the still living nationalized property and planned economy created by the 1917 revolution. This is what they are determined to destroy.

While the Soviet Union is externally menaced by world imperialism, its security and further existence is also endangered from within by the Stalinist bureaucracy which has usurped power there. The countless crimes committed against the interests of the workers by the Kremlin despotism have been the most important factor in weakening both the international position and the inner strength of the Soviet Union. The Kremlin's oppressive occupation of the border countries, its strangling of revolutionary movements by police methods, its acts of violence and use of slave labor, its plundering of machinery and resources, and its outrageous claims for reparations have served to repel the neighboring peoples from the USSR. The abominable brutality of Stalinist rule aids the lying propaganda of the war-mongers that "democracy" emanates from the imperialist camp.

Valuable elements for the construction of socialism exist in the state property and planned economy of the Soviet Union. It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to defend these conquests of the 1917 revolution against

imperialist aggression and attack. But this defense must go hand in hand with uncompromising political struggle against the counter-revolutionary course of the Stalinist bureaucracy and all its agencies which can only lead the Soviet Union towards ruin and destruction at the hands of the capitalists.

The criminal conduct and character of the Stalinist gang is expressed in the shameful record of labor betrayal by its Communist Party agency in this country. The Stalinist leaders, who served as recruiting sergeants for Wall Street's war, are today advising the workers to trust in the United Nations and Henry Wallace to prevent a new war and safeguard the Soviet Union. Thus they continue their perfidious policy of inducing the workers to line up behind a section of the capitalist politicians, instead of relying on their own independent power and class action.

The Soviet Union must be defended against imperialism for essentially the same reasons and in the same way that unions headed by Stalinist bureaucrats in this country must be supported against the assaults of capitalist reaction. But in neither case must the workers relent by one iota their opposition to Stalinism. Both the progress of the working class and the salvation of the Soviet Union depend upon the revolutionary overthrow of the bestial Kremlin oligarchy and the elimination of the Stalinist scourge from the international labor movement.

Fierce Anti-Labor Drive

The major antagonist of the Wall Street pirates is here at home in the mighty American working class. The miners and telephone workers have demonstrated anew that all the workers need is a bit of encouragement and leadership to rise and fight like tigers against the boss class and its government. Arrogant as America's Sixty Families are, they betray their inner insecurity and fear whenever the workers begin to act on their own account. The plutocrats instinctively feel that they face a power greater than themselves which can nullify their best-laid plans.

In order to clear the road for their projected war and hurl back the advancing labor movement, Big Business and its government servitors are waging a fierce anti-labor offensive on all fronts. They want to outlaw portal-to-portal pay; emasculate the Fair Labor Standards law; scuttle the Wagner National Labor Relations Act. To cripple the unions and pave the way for the restoration of open-shop conditions, they are determined to restrict the right to strike and picket and to prohibit industry-wide bargaining. To facilitate the shackling of labor to the war-machine, they have drafted laws designed to purge militants from the unions.

Every branch of the government from the White House and Congress to the Supreme Court has been pressed into service in this union-wrecking campaign. Democrats and Republicans alike are equally guilty of these anti-labor activities. At every turn the unions run up against these political stooges of the corporations who wield the powers of government office against them. Many of these capitalist politicians have been elected with the support of labor organizations and the endorsement of the AFL and the CIO-PAC.

The cowardice of the labor leaders, and their subservience to Big Business, is responsible for placing the workers in this situation. These craven bureaucrats fear to summon the workers for independent struggle in defense of their rights either on the economic or the political fields. They are willing to sell out the interests of the workers to the Wall Street war-mongers today, just as they did during World War II. They are steadily retreating under the assaults of reaction. The CIO and AFL heads display no disposition to mobilize their members to win the substantial wage increases they need and the profiteering corporations can well afford to pay. While Congress is running amok against labor, they are relying upon lobbying, prayers and petitions to stop the passage of the worst anti-labor measures.

These fatal policies of retreat and defeat must be rejected. The workers must organize their forces to oppose and get rid of the representatives of Wall Street in the seats of government. They must break their captivity to the boss-controlled Democratic and Republican parties. They must proceed to build their own independent labor party, based upon the unions. They must back candidates responsible to labor, responsive to its welfare and pledged to promote a program for the working people.

With a political party of its own, organized labor will be in a far better position to block the plans of the warmakers, to stop the Big Business offensive, and to combat the present dictatorship of the boss class exercised through the capitalist two-party system.

This is the most urgent task confronting American labor:

Build the Labor Party!

Witch-Hunt To Divide Workers

An integral part of the drive toward war is the red-baiting campaign which goes hand in hand with the anti-labor offensive. As spearheads of reaction, President Truman has ordered witch-hunts against government employes, Congressional investigators are persecuting working class parties, and Edgar Hoover has put his Gestapo-FBI bloodhounds on the trail of every person suspected of propressive ideas. The entire paid press has been shrieking in chorus about "the menace of Communism."

This snarling pack of labor-baiters and witch-hunters are doing the dirty work of Big Business which seeks by such poisonous methods to split the workers and sow dissension in their ranks. By isolating the militants in the unions, the bosses hope to render the workers leaderless in the face of their attacks. Through this Hitlerite technique the U. S. imperialists aim to gag all progressive opposition to their conspiracy to plunge this country into atomic war.

Many AFL and CIO leaders are joining in this hue and cry against "the red menace," thereby lending aid to Wall Street's attempts to throttle democracy and militancy in the unions. The union militants know from bitter experience in their struggles that red-baiting is a favored device of the corporations and plays into the hands of the worst anti-labor elements. The danger to labor comes from the profiteers and their plots to drive down living standards, to bludgeon labor's organizations, to suppress civil liberties and drag the American nation into a new bloodbath. No one should be allowed to split the ranks of labor along racial, national or political lines.

On guard against the red-baiters!

Unity of labor against all divisive tactics of the bosses!

Against all attempts to restrict the democratic rights of unions and working-class political parties; against the proposed outlawing of the Communist Party, against any abridgement of the civil liberties of the American people!

The same Congress which rubber-stamps the Truman doctrine refuses to even consider an anti-lynch law, abolition of the poll tax, or FEPC legislation. The same fascist-minded forces who are sponsoring the anti-labor and anti-red drives are busy, for exactly the same reactionary purposes, whipping up hatred and violence against the Negroes oppressed by the Jim Crow system. Lynchers go unpunished by State and Federal authorities in the South. Indignities and injuries against the Negro people multiply in the rest of the country. The actions of the Fascist Columbians and the Ku Klux-Talmadge forces in Georgia show how brazen the white supremacists are becoming.

Organized labor must give full support to the demands of the Negroes for complete economic, political and social equality and firmly resist every attempt by capitalist reaction to break the unity of the workers through race prejudice.

Full equality for Negroes! Down with Jim Crow! Down with anti-Semitism!

The capitalist rulers do not intend to pay for the war they are now inciting any more than they did for the last. They expect to profit from its preparation. By means of exorbitant prices, lowered wages and back-breaking taxes Big Business cunningly contrives to unload the costs of its war upon the working masses. At this very moment Congress is under heavy pressure from the bankers, landlords and construction interests to relieve the rich of taxes and to lift rent controls. Instead of permitting further rent-gouges, Congress should be compelled to take the billions of dollars now earmarked for the military budget and use them for the immediate construction of low-cost dwellings for the families of workers and veterans.

Build homes for the people, not atom bombs and battleships!

Let the rich pay for their wars! Tax the rich instead of the poor! No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!

The American people, like all others, deeply desire peace. They dread the prospect of an atomic war which can destroy civilization and exterminate a large part of the human race. They do not want to be dupes or tools of a clique of blood-soaked parasites who will stop at nothing to gain their criminal ends.

Fight Against Capitalism

What must they do to expose the conspiracies of the war-makers and halt Wall Street's mad drive toward world conflict? The workers must place no confidence whatsoever in the peaceful intentions or promises of any representative of the capitalist class. Henry Wallace is being touted by some liberals and the Stalinists as captain of the opposition to the Truman docrine. But Wallace has no fundamental differences with the war camp. He, too, supports the capitalist system and its military machine; he, too, is a sworn enemy of communism and socialism; he remains a member of the Democratic Party. Throughout World War II Wallace faithfully served Big Business, and when the showdown comes, he will no less loyally support any other war of the U. S. imperialists.

It is true that Wallace's criticism of the Truman doctrine helps to unmask the predatory aims of Wall Street and for that reason is welcomed by the American people who are profoundly alarmed by the menace of a new war. But the workers cannot conduct an effective fight against the war plans of Big Business under the misleadership of a Wallace. They must learn to rely solely upon their own organized strength, their own program of class struggle, their own leadership.

Wherever the people have had a chance to express their opinion, they have registered opposition to Truman's plans for U. S. intervention in Greece and Turkey. The President and the Democratic-Republican coalition are trying to ram these warlike proposals through Congress without consulting the people.

Take the war-making powers out of the hands of Wall Street's Congress! Let the people vote on the Truman doctrine! Let them decide for themselves the question of peace or war!

Although under mass pressure the wartime draft has lapsed, the militarists are stepping up their campaign for peacetime military conscription. They want to reimpose the vicious officer-caste system of capitalist militarism upon America's youth.

Capitalist militarism and its evils must be vigorously opposed. If there is to be military training, let it be organized under working class control.

Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!

Experience has shown that, so long as the capitalists dominate the government, it serves as an instrument to promote the war plans of the profiteers and obstruct the will of the people. The struggle against war is inseparable from the political struggle for the overthrow of capitalist rule and the abolition of the decaying capitalist system which breeds war. There is only one way to prevent World War III: launch an uncompromising struggle for a new power of the people to replace the present dictatorship of monopoly capital. Only a government based upon the workers, poor farmers, and all the exploited and oppressed can remove the causes of war by breaking the grip of the monopolists on our economic and political life.

For A Workers And Farmers Government!

The Socialist Workers Party bases itself upon the limitless potential power of the American workers. We are confident that the lessons they are learning in their struggles will bring these workers ever closer to our party and its program of revolutionary socialism. Already many of the best union militants and staunchest fighters for racial equality have joined our ranks.

May Day originated in the United States 61 years ago in the fight for the 8-hour day. It is dedicated to the advancement of labor and the international solidarity of the working class. The never-ceasing struggle of the working class has a great goal, nothing less than the emancipation of humanity from capitalist exploitation and slavery and the building of a planned socialist society. Our party is imbued with the unshakable conviction that the American workers will take that revolutionary road and march forward to victory.

The Trotskyist doctrine of the liberation of mankind through socialist revolution will triumph over the Truman doctrine of world conquest by armed force. Together with their fellow toilers throughout the world, the workers of America will establish a new society of fraternity, equality, peace and plenty for all.

For the international solidarity of the toiling masses!
For a Socialist America in a Socialist World!

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,
SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

May 1, 1947.

Our Program:

1. **Defend labor's standard of living!**
   - A sliding scale of wages — an escalator wage clause in all union contracts to provide automatic wage increases to meet the rising cost of living!
   - Organize mass consumers committees for independent action against profiteering and price-gouging!
   - Expropriate the food trusts! Operate them under workers' control!
2. **Full employment and job security for all workers and veterans!**
   - For the 6-hour day, 30-hour week! A sliding scale of hours — reduce the hours of work with no reduction in pay to prevent layoffs and unemployment!
   - Government operation of all idle plants under workers' control!
   - Unemployment insurance equal to trade union wages for workers and veterans during the entire period of unemployment!
3. **Against all anti-labor laws and government strike-breaking!**
   - No restrictions on the right to strike and picket!
   - No injunctions! No compulsory arbitration!
4. **Build an independent labor party!**
5. **Tax the rich, not the poor!**
   - Repeal the payroll tax! No sales taxes!
   - No taxes on incomes under $5,000 a year!
6. **An 18 billion dollar appropriation for government low-rent housing!**
7. **Full equality for Negroes and national minorities!**
   - End Jim-Crow! End Anti-Semitism!
8. **For a veterans' organization sponsored by the trade unions!**
9. **A working class answer to capitalist militarism and war.**
   - Take the war-making powers away from Congress! Let the people vote on the question of war or peace!
   - Against capitalist conscription!
   - Abolish the officer caste system!
   - Full democratic rights in the armed forces!
   - Trade union wages for the armed forces!
   - Military training of workers, financed by the government, but under control of the trade unions!
10. **Solidarity with the revolutionary struggles of the workers in all lands!**
    - For the compiete independence of the colonial peoples!
    - Withdraw all American troops from foreign soil!
11. **For a Workers' and Farmers' Government!**

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Postal Zone ..... State .....

AMERICAN STALINISM AND ANTI-STALINISM

By James P. Cannon

4. The Crimes And Betrayals Of American Stalinism

(Ed. Note: This is the fourth of a series of articles on Stalinism and anti-Stalinism.)

The Stalinist bureaucracy proceeded from its abandonment of revolutionary internationalism, and thereby of the most basic principle of Marxist politics, while still basing itself on an economic system created by a proletarian revolution. Beset by contradictions at every step, it gradually began to take shape as the greatest monstrosity the world has ever known.

The Stalinists raised the technique of falsifying, lying and slandering to a degree unknown or unimagined by any precedent or contemporary political grouping based on privileges, none of whom have been strangers to these techniques. Obsessed by the mad delusion that ideas count for nothing and that physical force decides everything, they embarked on a campaign of bloody violence, mass murder and assassination that has already taken its toll not in thousands or in tens of thousands, but in millions of human lives.

The whole generation of the original Bolsheviks were murdered in cold blood under cover of the Moscow Frame-up Trials. The whole of Russia was converted into a prison and a torture chamber where terror rules supreme. Many of the best leaders of the Fourth International outside of Russia were assassinated by the agents of Stalin, including the leader and founder of the movement, the companion of Lenin, L. D. Trotsky.

Stalinism, Betrayer of Revolutions

Stalinism, through its reactionary policy executed by a murder machine, was mainly responsible for the defeat of the Spanish revolution. And this same Stalinism has acted as the gendarmerie of capitalism in suppressing by bloody violence every attempt at revolutionary uprising in those territories where its army penetrated in Europe, and by deception and demagogy in the other countries behind the Anglo-American lines.

The American Stalinists have not gone so far in violence only because they have lacked the power. But they have endorsed and defended all the crimes and betrayals of Russian and international Stalinism, and therefore fully share the guilt for them. The apologist and defender of assassins is himself an assassin.

But aside from mass violence and murder, from which the American Stalinists have been restrained only by their weakness and incapacity, they have committed enough crimes and betrayals in the United States on their own account to damn them forever in the eyes of the advanced workers. And these crimes, like the crimes of Stalinism everywhere, have not been directed against the capitalist exploiters, as many erroneously believe, but against the workers and the masses of the people. Their conspiracies have not been dedicated to the overthrow of capitalism, as stupid reactionaries allege against them, but to propping it up and striking against the genuine revolutionary movements aiming at the socialist goal.

Roosevelt, the most perspicacious political leader of American capitalism, understood this, the essence of the question, much better than those color-blind political aborigines, such as Bilbo and Rankin, and others of similar mentality though different intent in the labor movement, who see "red" whenever the Stalinists are mentioned. Red is not their color.

Why Roosevelt Relied On Stalin

Roosevelt knew what he was doing when he made the war alliance with Stalin, and made no mistake in relying on him, not to promote the proletarian revolution in Europe but to crush it in blood or balk it with demagogy. The suppression of Trotsky's book on Stalin during the war, by the pressure of the State Department on the publishers, was a tacit recognition of the counter-revolutionary services of Stalin. So, likewise, was the production, under quasi-governmental auspices, of the monstrous movie, "Mission to Moscow," a vulgar glorification of the Moscow Frame-up Trials and a defamation of their victims.

The betrayals of the American Stalinists began, as betrayals of the workers always begin, with the revision, perversion and eventual renunciation of the theory of Marxism, the only revolutionary, the only truly proletarian theory there is. Trotsky warned that the theory of "socialism in one country," first enunciated by Stalin in 1924 to justify the policy of national reformism, could only lead to social-patriotism in the capitalist countries. His warning seemed to many to be far-fetched at the time, but it had a tragic verification in the United States, as everywhere else.

The new revisionist theories espoused by the American Stalinists, following the Moscow lead, ran so counter to the tradition and the socialist consciousness of the party membership that they could not be imposed on the party under conditions of free and democratic discussion, which had characterized the party in its early years. Party democracy had to be suppressed, and the Marxist dissidents who could not be silenced had to be expelled. Following the expulsion of the Left Opposition, the Trotskyists, in 1928, the right wing, led by Lovestone, who criticized the policy from another point of view, was expelled six months later. Thus the party was disrupted and converted into a bureaucratic caricature of the democratic revolutionary organization it once had been.

A Destructive Force in Unions

From the disruption of the party, the Stalinist bureaucracy, as one who says "A" must say "B," was obliged to carry disruption into the mass organizations and trade unions where dissidents and critics, including those who had been expelled from the party, also appeared. The Stalinists sought not to serve the mass organizations but to establish an iron-bound control over them, by any and every dishonorable means, in order to manipulate them at will. The Communist Party came to appear in the mass movement as an organization with special interests of its own to serve, and which served them ruthlessly and brutally against the interests of the mass movement. The Marxist axiom which says that "The Communist Party has no interests separate and apart from the interests of the working class as a whole," was turned upside down and made to read: "The working class has no interests separate and apart from the interests of the Communist Party."

The destructive weapon of expulsions and splits was carried over from the party into the mass organizations and the trade union movement. The Stalinists became hated and feared as **disrupters** who would stop at nothing to serve party aims dictated by the momentary interests, or supposed interests, of the Kremlin bureaucracy, which regulated the day to day policy of the American Communist Party as imperiously and automatically as a business firm directs the activities and policies of a branch office. Apart from everything else — and there is much else — the American Stalinists wrought untold damage in the trade unions and mass organizations of the American workers by their policy of ruthless disruption and suppression of workers' democracy.

The ultra-radical policy of the American Communist Party, carried out from 1928 to 1933 by Moscow command, prompted the Stalinists to lead the advanced workers under their influence out of the established conservative trade unions to form separate, isolated "red" unions of their own. This insane policy, which had been so tragically refuted in life so many times in the past history of the American labor movement, was a crime against the working class, and especially against its progressive vanguard.

Following that, when Stalin began to seek a bloc with the bourgeois democratic imperialists after Hitler came to power in Germany, the American Communist Party immediately followed suit with its infamous policy of the "Peoples' Front." The slogan "class against class," which is the basic slogan of the workers' emancipation struggle, was discarded in favor of the treacherous formula of class collaboration between the workers and their exploiters. The good and correct slogan of the united front of the workers was replaced by the slogan of an all-class political combination. The movement for an independent labor party, which had gained such a wide response in the progressive labor movement, was sabotaged and strangled.

Sold Out the American Workers

The Rooseveltian Democratic Party, the other [illegible] of the bi-partisan political mechanism of American capitalism, was recommended to the workers as their means of salvation in the struggle against this same capitalism. The Communist Party bureaucrats did everything they could to dragoon the workers into the support of the capitalist Democratic Party, by hypocritical indirection in 1936 and openly and directly in 1944.

The earlier crimes of the Communist Party became swollen into betrayals, and the betrayals increased in magnitude and cynicism. After some obscene gestures at ultra-radicalism, in accord with the Kremlin policy during the Soviet-Nazi pact, the American Stalinists promptly jumped onto the democratic imperialist bandwagon with the start of the Soviet-Nazi war. And after the entry of American imperialism, they became the most blatant jingoes in the American war camp. In return for Roosevelt's lend-lease to the Kremlin, the American Stalinists sold out the American workers in the most shameless and cynical fashion.

They were the loudest shouters for the no-strike pledge which shackled the workers and kept their wages frozen while prices rose during the war. In the strategic situation created by the labor shortage during the war, they viciously fought every attempt of the rank and file of the workers to use their organized strength to improve their conditions. They became militant advocates of "incentive pay" plans by which the workers could be speeded up more efficiently, while their solidarity in the shops was undermined. They became the most unabashed finks and strikebreakers in every labor dispute that flared up during the war; and they put the stool-pigeon's finger on every revolutionist and every militant, howling for their arrest and prosecution.

The record of American Stalinism is indeed a record of crimes and betrayals. But here is the important point for militants to get clear in their heads: These crimes and betrayals have been directed against the interests of the American workers. It is on this ground and no other that the militant workers who are conscious of their own class interests must expose and fight them.

***Next Week:** The Stalinist Bureaucrats and the Other Bureaucrats.*

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Survivor Of Concentration Camp Kidnapped By GPU In Austria

Search For Dead In Texas

Rescue workers search through the mangled wreckage of the Texas City Monsanto Chemical factory for bodies of victims caught in the blasts and fires that demolished the city.
Federated Pictures

VIENNA, Austria, Apr. 18 — Friends of the revolutionary socialist, Karl Fischer, have sent out the following communique for the labor press of the entire world:

* * *

Karl Fischer, born Sept. 23, 1918, a functionary of the **Arbeiterkammer** (Labor Exchange) at Linz in Austria, member of the Austrian Socialist Party, "disappeared without a trace" on Jan. 22, 1947 at 6 p.m. at Urfahr in Upper Austria, on the American-Russian demarcation line.

In 1937 Karl Fischer was concondemned by the Schuschnigg regime to 5 years of hard labor for anti-fascist activity and for belonging to a dissident Communist group. Freed by the general amnesty of Feb. 19, 1938, Fischer left Austria after the 1938 **Anschluss**, and lived in France as a political refugee.

In 1943 Fischer was turned over by the Vichy authorities to the Gestapo and up to the time of his liberation by American troops in 1945, he remained in concentration camp of Buchenwald.

SEVERE PERSECUTION

At Buchenwald, he was exposed not only to the mistreatment of the S.S., but also, because of his independent socialist ideas, to the persecution of the "internal administration" which was composed of leading Stalinist functionaries. With the approach of the American armies, the Communist Party functionaries attempted to "liquidate" all oppositionist elements at Buchenwald by means of special "Kommandos."

Thanks to the protection of Benedikt Kautsky, the son of Social Democratic theoretician Karl Kautsky, Fischer was able to escape several attempts made against him. The CP functionary, Otto Horn, one of the leaders of the Austrian Stalinists, particularly persecuted Fischer and prevented his participation in the collective transport from Buchenwald to Vienna.

On the advice of Benedikt Kautsky, who resides in Zurich at present, Fischer went to Linz in the American zone of Austria, where he worked up to April 1946 in the French Liaison Office as secretary to Captain Roxan. After the liquidation of the French Liaison Office, Fischer became a reporter on economic and statistical questions in the **Arbeiterkammer** at Linz. Last Fall, Fischer was delegated by the Linz Arbeiterkammer to represent it at the National Conference of Arbeiterkammers in Carinthia.

Fischer had obtained Swiss and French visas and was about to leave for these countries in order to convalesce from the tortures he underwent in Buchenwald. However, his immediate superior, M. Strasser, the Secretary of the Arbeiterkammer at Linz, a member of the Socialist Party and of the "Association of Friends of the USSR," opposed granting him a leave of absence.

FISCHER KIDNAPPED

On the morning of Jan. 22, 1947 Fischer telephoned Gustav Bergmann, one of the leaders of the Socialist Party in Vienna, on the matter of his trip to Switzerland. On the evening of the same day, he was kidnapped.

Fischer was kidnapped in the course of a walk he took in the Russian zone, accompanied by the girl, Vera Kerschbaumer. Vera Kerschbaumer is the daughter of M. Kerschbaumer, editor of the local Communist Party organ **Neue Zeit**. She herself is a member of the CP and employed in the CP Bookshop at Linz. A short while before, she had been summoned by the General Secretary of the CP in Upper Austria, M. Haider, who asked her to take advantage of her personal friendship with Fischer in order to spy on Fischer. Vera, indignant at the methods employed by her party, rejected Haider's proposal and warned Fischer.

Fischer was warned again by another leader of the CP, who asked him to give up all contact with Vera, "if he does not want to bear the consequences." Fischer refused to comply with CP orders. He never concealed his views on Russia and its regime and continued to express his ideas orally, or by lending books and even personal manuscripts.

On Jan. 22, 1947, after work, at approximately 5 p.m., he accompanied Vera to Urfahr, in the Russian zone. Shortly past 5 p.m., according to Strasser, an anonymous person with a pronounced foreign accent phoned the Arbeiterkammer and asked for Fischer. According to Vera Kerschbaumer, Fischer left her at about 5:45 and did not return. The Socialist members of parliament, the Secretary of State Mantler (who knew Fischer personally), the Mayor of Linz, the Austrian delegate to the UNO in London, Dr. Koref, and the Socialist Minister of the Interior, have all been informed, but they have not undertaken any effective action.

Only on Feb. 3, did the **Neue Zeit** make public the "mysterious disappearance." M. Strasser, on his own, has done everything possible to make it appear at first that it was Americans or Frenchmen who kidnapped Fischer; later on, that Fischer committed "suicide." Strasser is playing a particularly shady role in the whole affair. Fischer was known to have been in high morale and very courageous.

The mother of Fischer, who during the Third Reich, was condemned to 5 years of prison for anti-fascist activity, and who was also liberated by the Americans in 1945, has lost her son for the second time.

How Hartley Bill Puts Knife At American Labor's Throat

The Hartley omnibus measure, passed 307 to 108 by the House of Representatives on April 17, will—if finally enacted into law—wipe out all the major gains won by the American labor movement in decades of bitter struggle.

(1.) The bill bans industry-wide bargaining, making it illegal for a union to insist that competing employers sign a standard contract. Under the measure it would be a crime to even threaten to use the strike weapon against two companies at the same time.

(2.) The bill bans the closed shop. A strike to obtain the closed shop is classified as a crime. While the bill cynically claims it permits a union shop, unions are barred from so much as threatening to strike to obtain this right.

(3.) Any attempt to coordinate the fight of union locals would become "conspiracy" under the measure, subjecting the union to prosecution as a "trust."

(4.) Unions are subject to crippling court suits for "violations" of contracts. It takes little experience with the capitalist courts to understand how companies can count on biased judges to pin the blame on the unions for a "violation."

(5.) It is made lawful for employers to break a strike by hiring scabs as "permanent replacements."

(6.) Sit-down strikes, boycotts, mass picketing, sympathy strikes, etc., are banned as "unfair labor practices." A union forced to defend its rights by mass picketing, for instance, could be hit by court injunctions and crippled by court suits.

(7.) Collective bargaining is arbitrarily defined in such a way as to place the unions at a serious disadvantage. Unless the complicated procedure listed by the bill is followed, strike action is illegal.

(8.) The Attorney General is empowered to obtain injunctions to halt any strike for 75 days if it is deemed to endanger national public interest and welfare. The capitalists, of course, place virtually every strike in that category. The strikebreaking injunction would be lifted then only if a majority of workers voted by secret ballot to reject the employer's last offer. But there is nothing to prevent the Attorney General from obtaining another 75 day strike-breaking injunction.

(9.) Contributions by an employer to health and welfare funds of the workers are made illegal if a union has any degree of control over such funds. The check-off is likewise made illegal unless each individual employe gives written permission.

(10.) The National Labor Relations Board would be scrapped and a new board set up under the union-smashing omnibus provisions. The new board would operate under the doctrine that Big Business must be protected from "labor monopolies."

(11.) Anyone who has ever been a member of the Communist Party is banned from holding office in a union. The same ban would apply to anyone who "can reasonably be regarded" as a red. If an officer of a union falls in this category, the union will not be certified for bargaining. This clause, aimed directly at union militants, provides a legal wedge for deadly intervention in the internal affairs of the unions.

(12.) Anyone who strikes or even "affirms the right" of federal workers to strike is banned from government employ.

(13.) Unions are prohibited from making political contributions in any election involving a federal office.

(14.) Unions must register with the Federal government and file financial reports, thus driving another legal wedge into internal union affairs.

Meanwhile the Senate is preparing its version of an omnibus anti-labor law. The bill reported out of committee already contains such vicious items as prohibition of the closed shop; and Taft, boss of the Republican machine in the Senate, has announced he will do his utmost to pass a bill just as ferocious as the one stampeded through the House.

Phone Workers Firm In Third Week Of Strike

(Continued from Page 1)

were not intended in any way to be considered "conciliatory" to the strikers.

Nevertheless, the reduction in penalties is a confession of the state's miserable failure to club the strikers back to work, and a testimonial to the strength of organized labor in contesting such vicious laws. It now remains for the unions to broaden their struggle and completely eliminate the Public Utility Law.

Meanwhile the striking unions agreed to abide by the arbitration provisions of Driscoll's new law — but without calling off their strike. They pointedly declared that they must continue the strike in order not to jeopardize their court challenge of the law, and in order to maintain a solid national strike front. Faced with this action, Driscoll and his agents refused to proceed with arbitration proceedings and thus gave further service to N. J. Bell which has steadfastly stalled and refused to negotiate with the unions.

RALLIED FULL SUPPORT

Although the intended one-day general strike of AFL and CIO unions fell through, the New Jersey labor movement has rallied full support to the phone workers. Last Saturday, at a delegated conference attended by approximately 1,000 AFL unionists, the AFL voted an immediate $20,000 to the Jersey phone unions, and prepared in addition to collect one hour's pay from its members; this would add up to about one-half million dollars.

The conference also pledged itself to work for the defeat of every member of the Legislature who would not agree to repeal of the entire Public Utilities Act. The AFL resolution declares: "Either repeal of the Public Utilities Act or state ownership of all public utilities."

Meanwhile, the State CIO is proceeding with plans for mass meetings in eleven key cities of the state which will protest Driscoll's strikebreaking and rally full support to the phone workers.

The overwhelming support to the phone workers is indicated by the numerous invitations to speak extended to Mary Hanscom, president, and Virginia Wigglesworth, vice-president, of the striking Traffic Telephone Workers. In the past few days they have spoken to thousands of workers assembled at AFL, CIO and AVC meetings.

MILITANT DEFIANCE

Backing up their militant defiance of state strikebreaking with every possible legal move, the unions last Wednesday went into federal court and obtained a temporary injunction prohibiting the state from making any new arrests. Tomorrow three federal judges will open hearings on union motion to declare the law unconstitutional.

Attorney-General Van Riper attempted to counter this move by instituting proceedings in the state courts in defense of the law.

It becomes increasingly clear to the unions that legal moves, although necessary, can only serve as an auxiliary to mass action of the united labor movement to nullify the Public Utility Act. Everywhere one hears animated political discussions by rank and file strikers, as well as CIO and AFL unionists, that labor must take political action against the Republicans and Democrats responsible for such anti-labor laws.

The pattern of 15 cents an hour being established by CIO unions is now being unofficially utilized by the NFTW leadership to press AT&T-Bell for wage commitments. The phone trust still refuses to make an offer, hoping against hope for a break in the strike front. The phone workers entered their first strike "green" — without previous experience in strike battle. But already 16 days of action have taught them that nation-wide solidarity is the only way to bring the communications barons to terms.

The phone workers have the support of the entire labor movement. On a national scale, unions are voting funds and pledging full support to the embattled phone workers. Such solidarity is the key to victory. With strengthened ranks, the phone workers can be confident that they will win.

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"War is a gigantic commercial enterprise especially for the war industry. The 'Sixty Families' are therefore the first - line patriots and the chief provocateurs of war. Workers' control of war industries is the first step in the struggle against the 'manufacturers' of war."

Leon Trotsky

"Peacemongering"

A reader has called our attention to an acid observation in this week's **New Yorker:** "Many senators are unhappy about Henry Wallace's speeches in England opposing the Truman Doctrine. This is no time, they hold, for an American citizen to go around peacemongering."

It occurred to us that the senators are more than "unhappy." Senator Eastland charged Wallace with conspiring "with foreign peoples." Vandenberg called Wallace's speeches a "shocking thing." Some Congressmen talked about "treason." The House un-American Committee called for his indictment under the Logan Act they dug out of the law books of 1799. And Attorney General Clark gave Wallace the "lie."

What crime did Wallace commit to deserve this assault? He said that powerful forces are trying to launch the U.S. on a "mad nightmare" of "ruthless imperialism." He said that Truman's proposal means "to rush to the aid of every dictator who hoists the anti-Communist Skull and Bones" and is a "one-way road to war."

Let us state right here that we do not agree with Wallace's claim that peace can be achieved by trusting in the United Nations. This idea is not only utopian, it is dangerous. It sows illusions. The UN can no more bring enduring peace than could that previous thieves' kitchen, the League of Nations.

But we are completely opposed to the attempt of the warmongers to muzzle Wallace. This brazen attack on the rights of free speech clearly indicates how far down the highway to World War III Wall Street's political representatives have already taken America. They act as if Wallace were violating wartime censorship already!

Inadvertently they reveal how deeply opposed the American public is to their war plans. They are afraid to let one single well-known public figure speak in opposition to their schemes. They fear that a few speeches stating some of the plain facts about their blueprint for another war can start a political landslide moving against them.

We hope that landslide starts soon. We hope that it does not stop until it has swept every capitalist politician out of office and put a Workers and Farmers Government in power. Then we know we'll have enduring peace!

Distorting A Poll

George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, has shown in the past few weeks that he is not averse to distorting his polls for the sake of Wall Street's drive toward atomic war.

On March 28 he claimed his poll proved that "President Truman's program has substantial backing from the American people." As evidence he cited the response to the following question: "Do you approve or disapprove of the bill asking for 250 million dollars to aid Greece?" The poll showed: "Yes, 56%; No, 32%; No opinion, 12%."

How the formulation of this question confused the public can be judged from Gallup's admission that an unrevealed percentage considered the chief reason for helping Greece was that "Greece is starving, needs food, needs help."

The real feelings of the people toward Truman's war program are better reflected in the answers to the question: "Would you favor sending American military advisers to train the Greek Army?" Despite the obvious way this question was worded to imply that only "training" was involved and that a positive answer was called for, 54% answered no! Only 37% answered yes, and 9% had no opinion.

On Truman's by-passing of the United Nations, 56% disapproved, a mere 25% approved while 19% gave no opinion.

Two weeks later, Gallup took another poll. He announced the results to only one question, approval or disapproval of by-passing the United Nations. In the two weeks disapproval of Truman's course had grown significantly. Now 63% registered disapproval, only 23% approved, and 14% had no opinion.

This shift Gallup interpreted as showing "there can be little doubt that the Vandenberg amendment (paying lip-service to the UN) is indorsed in principle by the majority of the country!"

The truth is, as everyone aware of mass sentiment knows, that the people are bitterly opposed to any steps that will take America into another war. They fear the moves into Greece and Turkey are dangerous steps toward war.

If the people were permitted to vote on the Truman "doctrine," it would be overwhelmingly rejected. That is why the Truman Administration did not consult the people, but announced the new "doctrine" in dictatorial fashion and then put the heat on a servile Congress to rush through rubber-stamp approval.

"Neutrality" Revision

President Truman has asked Congress to revise the Neutrality Act of 1939. This is no routine legislative proposal but another deliberate step toward atomic war.

The evidence puts this conclusion beyond reasonable dispute. Truman himself declared in his message: "The present system of supervising this country's international traffic and trade in arms and munitions of war was conceived during a period of neutrality and with the view of remaining out of war."

Get that — "conceived during a period of neutrality and with the view of remaining out of war." The request for a change in the law, therefore, implies that the present period is not one of neutrality and "the view" is to plunge America into World War III.

The law proposed by Truman would set up a new National Munitions Control Board. This Board would be empowered to control the shipment of arms abroad through a licensing system. It could, for example, bar shipment of arms to the Indo-Chinese people who are fighting for their freedom — supposing the Indo-Chinese could get money to buy arms and ships to carry them. The Board could, on the other hand permit the shipment of munitions to any reactionary dictatorship willing to make a deal with Wall Street.

The proposed law goes even further than this, however. The Board would be given control not only over arms but over "articles designed for their manufacture," and "articles intended for the direct or indirect use of a foreign military establishment." These provisions would make it possible to bar all kinds of tool making machines as well as bandages, medicine and similar supplies for a colonial people struggling for their independence or workers trying to set up socialism.

Then to cover anything that could possibly get by these controls the proposed law would include control over "any article" in time of war or "emergency" which would affect the "security interests" of the United States.

The demand for revision of the Neutrality Act as part of the preparations for war, we think, sufficiently discloses the real aim of the Truman doctrine.

Red-Baiter In Action

When news of the frightful series of blasts at Texas City reached Washington, Senator W. Lee ("Pass-the-Biscuits-Pappy") O'Daniel responded with the alertness characteristic of this poll tax Texas landlord. He immediately introduced a resolution in the Senate demanding $10,000 for a special committee "to ascertain the causes of the disaster, particularly whether there is responsibility on the part of persons connected with the communistic underground . . ."

Senator O'Daniel, with the delicacy typical of the Southern Bourbons, did not openly suggest he should be placed in charge of disbursing the $10,000 fund. He confined himself simply to insinuating that "reds" were at the bottom of the Texas City explosion "in view of the high tension on international affairs and because of the rather large number of fires, explosions, railroad wrecks, and other disastrous occurrences in this nation lately, all so nearly resembling disastrous occurrences which preceded our entry into the last war and which were due largely to communistic underground activity . . ."

This resolution should not be dismissed as merely stupid red-baiting although Senator O'Daniel is both stupid and a red-baiter. What it indicates is how popular the uses of red-baiting have become in the nation's capitol.

If Truman's bi-partisan supporters can use red-baiting to cover up the President's demand for $400,000,000 to bolster reaction in Greece and Turkey, why shouldn't a poll tax Texas Senator use red-baiting to cover up the criminal responsibility of his Big Business cronies for the wanton murder of hundreds and the destruction of a whole city?

Murder In Palestine

Dov B. Gruner, Mordecai Aloshi, Eliezer Kashani and Dov Rosenbaum — four Jewish youths who resisted British tyranny in Palestine — were hanged April 16.

Gruner was condemned by the British overlords because he participated in a raid of the Jewish underground on the Ramat Gan police station. Only five weeks before his arrest he had received his discharge from the British Army, where he had fought presumably in hope of helping to free his people from the concentration camps and terror of the Nazis.

The other three victims were condemned for riding in an automobile containing four bombs, one tommy gun and a leather whip. They readily admitted that as members of the Jewish underground movement they had been hunting for a British major to flog. The British executed them in savage reprisal and as an object lesson to the former inmates of Nazi concentration camps who fled central Europe after the war's end only to find themselves behind the barbed wire of British concentration camps.

Four Jewish youths swinging from a British gallows! On each of them it would be fitting for the victorious Allies to pin a placard inscribed with one of the "four freedoms" promised the peoples of the earth, for these four youths were guilty of trying to bring those four freedoms to Palestine.

"With this omnibus labor bill, we can really take the workers for a ride."

Workers BOOKSHELF

THE COMING AMERICAN REVOLUTION by James P. Cannon, Pioneer Publishers, 31 pp., 1947, 10 cents.

Is the Socialist Revolution possible in the United States, world stronghold of capitalism? Such a prospect is dismissed as a dream by supporters of the present system, including the liberal and labor leaders. But in this pamphlet, just off the press, the Socialist Workers Party affirms its conviction that socialist revolution is today developing within the United States and is a realistic prospect in our time.

The reasons for this conclusion are set forth in the Theses on the American Revolution, presented by the SWP National Committee and adopted last November at the 12th National Convention in Chicago, together with a speech by National Secretary James P. Cannon amplifying the main points

In accord with the Marxist method and Marxist tradition, the Theses analyze first of all the objective factors making for this revolution. **"These are primary. These are fundamental,"** Cannon emphasizes. The Theses pay "due acknowledgement" to the strength of U.S. imperialism. But they condemn "over-estimation of its power and awe-stricken prostration before it."

The Theses point out that American imperialism emerged victorious from the Second World War over all its rivals, enemy and ally alike. Wall Street thereby hoped to inaugurate the so-called "American Century" — that is, subjugation of the entire planet to its rule. But "the meteoric rise of U. S. imperialism to world supremacy comes too late." The foundation of world economy upon which American imperialism is based, is "shot through with insoluble contradictions; it suffers from chronic dislocations and is mined with revolutionary powder kegs."

The Theses explain how the Second World War was profoundly different in its effects upon American capitalism from World War I. Both on a national and world scale, the devastations and economic dislocations were qualitatively worsened.

This crisis of American capitalism poses "pointblank the question of who shall be master in the land." It poses the struggle of the workers to power in the U.S. not as the perspective of "a distant and hazy future but the realistic program of our epoch."

The Theses not only outline the objective factors making for the American Revolution but evaluate the relationship of social forces. Although the U.S. is the most powerful capitalist country in history, "the numerical strength and social weight of the American working class, greatly increased by the war, is overwhelming in the country's life. Nothing can stand up against it. The productivity of American labor, likewise greatly increased in wartime, is the highest in the world. This means skill, and skill means power." It concludes: "The American capitalist class is strong, but the American working class is stronger."

The Theses demonstrate the tremendous transformation that has taken place over the years in the American working class. "In one leap — in a brief decade — the American workers attained trade-union consciousness on a higher plane and with mightier organizations than in any other advanced country . . . Under the impact of great events and pressing necessities the American workers will advance beyond the limits of trade unionism and acquire political class consciousness and organization in a similar sweeping movement." This transformation is amplified and powerfully illustrated in Cannon's speech:

"American capitalism took millions of bare-footed country boys from the bankrupted farms of the country; put shoes on them and marched them into the regimented ranks of socially-operated modern industry; wet them in the rain of the man-killing speed-up exploitation of the Twenties; dried them in the sun of the frightful crisis of the Thirties; overworked them on the assembly line, starved them on the bread-line, mistreated and abused them; and finally succeeded in pounding them into a coherent body which emerged as a section of the most powerful and militant trade union movement the world has ever known . . . What are the limits to the future possibilities and powers of this remarkable class? There are no limits. All things are possible; and all things that are necessary will be achieved."

The Theses conclude: "The decisive instrument of the proletarian revolution is the party of the class conscious vanguard . . . The revolutionary vanguard party, destined to lead this tumultuous revolutionary movement in the U.S. does not have to be created. It already exists, and its name is the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY." And, in his speech, Cannon adds: "He who doubts the socialist revolution in America does not believe in the survival of human civilization, for there is no other way to save it. And there is no other power that can save it but this all-mighty working class of the United States."

— **Larissa Reed**

Notebook Of An Agitator

What Do They Know About Jesus?

Did you see what I saw in the paper this morning, Thursday, April 17? It took the taste out of my breakfast. The Wall Street money-sharks, pressing their anti-labor drive on all fronts, now claim they have lined up God and Jesus Christ for the open shop.

The New York Times reports: "Six hundred thirty-seven clergymen attached to various Protestant churches have joined in attacking the closed shop as a violation of basic teachings of the Bible, the American Council of Christian Churches, 15 Park Row, announced today."

What do you know about that? And how do you think it happened? I wasn't present when the deal was cooked up, but knowing whom these theological bunk-shooters serve and from whom they got their orders, I can visualize the proceedings and tell how it happened, in essence if not in precise detail.

The top profit-hogs very probably had a meeting of their board of strategy down in Wall Street the other day, and counted up the forces they had mobilized in the grand crusade to break up the unions and beat down the workers who are trying so desperately to make their wages catch up with the increasing cost of living. They checked off Congress, both the House and the Senate. They checked off the President and the courts. They checked off the daily newspapers, from one end of the country to the other, and found a 100% score on that front. Then they called the roll of radio commentators, and made a note to put pressure for the firing of the remaining two or three half-liberal "news analysts" on the air who are not going along 100%.

On the whole their situation looked pretty good, but they had to acknowledge to themselves that public opinion is not yet responding to the union-busting program with any great enthusiasm. Then one of the union-busters — most probably one of their "idea-men"—got a bright idea. "Let's send somebody around the corner to the American Council of Christian Churches at 15 Park Row," he said, "and tell them to start singing for their supper. Tell them to go out and round up a few hundred preachers and have them sign a statement against the unions. Tell them to put God in the statement, and be sure to ring in Jesus Christ."

No sooner said than done — but good. Now comes the public statement signed by 637 clerical finks who state that the closed shop (they mean the union shop) violates freedom of conscience and the Eighth Commandment, "Thou shalt not steal." They appeal to Christ on the ground that the union shop violates "the individual's responsibility to God" and obliges Christian men to be "yoked together with unbelievers." This, they say, is wrong and not according to Jesus.

Well, I feel like saying to these strikebreaking sky-pilots what Carl Sandburg once said to an anti-labor evangelist 30 years ago: "Here you come tearing your shirt, yelling about Jesus. I want to know what in hell you know about Jesus." I don't know too much myself, but if the only accounts we have of him are true, they called him "the Carpenter"; and he once took a whip and drove the money-changers out of the temple. "Ye have made it a den of thieves," he shouted, in white-hot anger.

And what have you done, you 637 fake-pious pulpit pounders who serve the moneyed interests against the people? You have made it a den of thieves, and liars too. You have the gall to represent the lowly Nazarene as a scab-herder; and to tell the Christian workers, who revere him as the friend and associate of the publicans and sinners, of all the poor and the lowly, that they should not be "yoked together with unbelievers" in a union to protect their common interests. That's a lie and a defamation. You're simply trying to serve the rich against the poor, to help the rich in their campaign to break up the unions, which are the only protection the poor people have. And don't try to fool anybody with the statement that you are in favor of unions "properly conducted"—under open shop conditions. We know what you mean by this mealy-mouthed formulation. Such unions, as Mr. Dooley once said, are unions which have no strikes, no dues and very few members.

And leave Jesus out of your lying propaganda, you scribes and pharisees, full of hypocrisy and iniquity. Every time you mention his name you libel him, regardless of whether the story of his life and death be taken as literal truth or legend. The Carpenter of Nazareth has been badly misrepresented in many ways for many years, but your attempt to pass him off as a union-buster goes just a little bit too far. It is just about the dirtiest trick that has ever been played on Jesus Christ since the crucifixion.

J. P. C.

May Day's Origin Here In America

By Joseph Hansen

May first, the day class-conscious workers throughout the world celebrate the international solidarity of labor and its socialist future, began in America in 1886. That day 61 years ago marked the first concerted action of the American workers on a nation-wide scale to better their conditions, and the first appearance of revolutionary socialist leaders as the most energetic organizers and dynamic spokesmen of the American working class.

As early as 1825 the workers began raising the demand for a shorter day, but it was not until the 80's when the trade unions registered spectacular growth that the movement assumed truly mass proportions. Militant unionism was one of the fruits of the sweeping industrialization of America that followed the Civil War.

Militant Labor Struggles

George E. McNeill, a well-known labor figure of those times, wrote in 1887 that the previous year "will be known as the year of the great uprising of labor. The future historian will say: Trades-unions increased their membership and their powers as never before. The Knights of Labor, who had for 17 years struggled against all adverse influences, added to their membership by tens of thousands weekly. Trades and occupations that had never before been organized joined the . . . assemblies of the order . . . Laboring men who had heretofore considered themselves as scarcely more than serfs, without rights or privileges, fearing to organize, or failing to do so because of the hopelessness of their condition, seemed imbued with a new spirit . . . Strikes prevailed everywhere. Thousands of grievances were settled by peaceful arbitration. Every branch of labor was affected . . . The skilled and the unskilled, the high-paid and the low-paid, all joined hands . . . The press was filled with labor news." (Quoted in **The History of the Haymarket Affair,** by Henry David.)

Most Popular Demand

The most popular demand in this upsurge was the eight-hour day. A trade union resolution passed in 1884 setting May 1, 1886 as the day when labor all over the country would insist on eight-hours, started the ball rolling.

The socialist movement was inclined at first to emphasize the inadequacy of this goal. The anarchists in particular led by Johann Most, an advocate of terrorism, sharply criticized the movement.

In Chicago, however, the International Working People's Association, headed by Albert R. Parsons and August Spies, while at first critical, soon saw the revolutionary possibilities of the eight-hour movement. Parsons had been a prominent advocate of the eight-hour day as early as 1880. A Chicago trade union leader, he also headed the native American wing of the IWPA. Spies was the most prominent spokesman of the German-speaking immigrants who constituted a large section of Chicago's working class population at the time.

The militancy of the IWPA can be judged from the fact that it fostered workers defense guards to protect labor from the attack of Pinkerton thugs and gangs of armed strikebreakers. These workers defense guards appeared in many cities, including Detroit, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Omaha, Newark, New York, San Francisco, Denver and other places.

May First General Strike

The preparations for the general strike on May 1, 1886, went forward throughout the country, with the greatest enthusiasm evident in Chicago under the leadership of the IWPA. Workers began going out on strike in the latter part of April. By the second week of May 340,000 workers had participated, 80,000 of them in Chicago. On May 1 Spies wrote in the **Arbeiter-Zeitung:** "The dies are cast! The first of May, whose historical significance will be understood and appreciated only in later years is here."

Use Force and Violence

The reaction of the capitalists was varied. Some conceded without further battle to the demand for a shorter work day. But the majority, especially the most powerful robber barons, decided to resort to force and violence. The Chicago **Mail** wrote ominously in a May 1 editorial: "There are two dangerous ruffians at large in this city; two sneaking cowards who are trying to create trouble. One of them is named Parsons; the other is named Spies . . . Mark them for today. Keep them in view. Hold them personally responsible for any trouble that occurs. Make an example of them if trouble does occur."

The "trouble" occurred on May 4. Police clubs and revolvers had long been used against strikers in Chicago. When a striker was killed and 5 or 6 wounded at the McCormick plant, the IWPA called a protest meeting at Haymarket square.

As the last speaker was about to conclude, a squad of police rushed the meeting. Fielden and Spies immediately descended from the wagon they had used as a rostrum. At that moment, a bomb exploded among the police, killing one outright and wounding 70; later 6 of the wounded died. The police immediately began firing into the crowd, killing one and wounding between 60 and 70.

To this day it is not known who threw the bomb. Some hold it was actually an anarchist, others think it was a worker seeking revenge after being clubbed by police, the most commonly accepted view is that it was planted by an agent of the Chicago capitalists.

Launched A Red Scare

The capitalists thereupon launched a red scare that has served as the pattern for all subsequent red scares. Every newspaper joined in the rabid cry to "Hang the Anarchists!" The police conducted mass raids, rounding up thousands of innocent people. The leaders of the IWPA were arrested, no attention being paid to whether or not they were present at the meeting where the bomb was thrown. Eight of them were railroaded through one of the rawest frame-ups this country has ever seen.

Parsons had escaped when the raids began, but as the trial began, he created a nation-wide sensation by calmly walking into court. "I never expect while I live, to be a free man again," he explained. "They will kill me, but I could not bear to be at liberty, knowing that my comrades were here and were to suffer for something of which they were as innocent as I . . . "

The sentences of three of the eight were commuted. Lingg committed suicide. On November 11, 1887, Fischer, Engel, Parsons and Spies were hanged. Spies' last words, uttered from under the hood the hangman placed over his head, have become engraved in the minds of workers the world over: "There will come a time when our silence will be more powerful than the voices you strangle today!"

WORKERS' FORUM

The Workers' Forum columns are open to the opinions of the readers of "The Militant". Letters are welcome on any subject of interest to the workers. Keep them short and include your name and address. Indicate if you do not want your name printed.

Laura Gray Cartoons Saved For Scrapbook

Editor:

Here is a testimonial to the good work of Comrade Laura Gray — to the popularity of her cartoons. I stopped in this morning to get a **Militant** renewal from one of our subscribers. She told me she was keeping a scrapbook of Gray's cartoons, a collection of the "fat women."

Her husband said that upon arrival of **The Militant** she looks first at the cartoons, then reads the paper through and talks about it the rest of the week.

Helen Holloway
Minneapolis, Minn.

Disagrees With Views Expressed by 'Militant'

Editor:

As a new subscriber, with no affiliations, permit me to express my view of your views.

The editorial, "Who Was Right About The War," fails to ring the bell in logic or fact. You say World War II was imperialist and accomplished nothing. All one has to do is to reverse the results, with the Axis powers winning, and we would today be witnessing a blanket of brutal fascism from Ireland to Japan with America the only outpost of what freedom might remain.

Instead, the defeat of the fascists in war has permitted peoples movements all over to gain the ascendency. Only in the USA has reaction been able to find a last remaining focal point. I'd say you were wrong about the war.

Next, the world seems to be going "left" and the Communists are playing a larger and larger role. To spend all your time and news space fighting them in order to vindicate one man (Trotsky) appears to me a waste of time. The weight of evidence points to the fact that Trotsky conspired against Lenin all his life and then against the USSR when exiled. Of course, in such a case, there may be violence on both sides. Yet it is the fundamental beliefs, ethics, and moral values of the people, Communists or otherwise, which determine direction after being conditioned by reality. You only confuse the ordinary person and aid Big Business by your vindictiveness toward a large section of the politically alert working people.

Then, you have steadily maintained that the USSR must be protected from foreign capitalism. Yet how does this jibe with your calls to people all over the globe to stop support for an "imperialist" war, which if heeded, might well have meant the defeat of the USSR?

Finally, there are many other items which just don't jell. Isn't it rather stupid to run "Trotskyist" candidates in an American election? Call them SWP candidates if you must run them. It only shows your sectarian qualities. I can't imagine the Communists running a "Stalinist" candidate for office in this country.

Also, take the letter from Carmona re: Robeson (April 12). You print this without editorial comment, and therefore it must be taken as your opinion as well as that of the SWP member who wrote it. It is a flagrant example of fascist-minded racism. He states, in effect, that the Negroes have a loyalty instinct like dogs. Just throw them a bone and they will kill, rob and steal for you. Do you call this Marxism?

M. E. C.
Chicago, Ill.

Editorial Note: We will answer only one point in this letter, leaving the other points to readers who may differ with M. E. C. We do not know whether E. J. Carmona is or is not a member of the Socialist Workers Party. We published his letter like the one above as expressing the individual opinion of a reader of The Militant. *The absence of an editorial note by no means signifies that we agree with the views expressed by contributors to the Workers Forum.*

Defends Criticism Of Robeson's Politics

Editor:

In rebuttal to E. J. Carmona of New York.

Dear Comrade: In regard to Paul Robeson I want to grasp this opportunity not only to maintain my position but to insist upon it.

Racism or Jim-Crowism is but one of the many foul manifestations of capitalist society. Paul Robeson approaches the problem from a nationalistic viewpoint, failing to understand that these various evils of capitalism must be fought from the standpoint not of race consciousness but of revolutionary working class consciousness.

Why does Robeson fail to understand this? Because he is the possessor of a petty-bourgeois mentality. It does not matter how "liberal," progressive, or even radical he may become, for as long as he approaches a working-class problem from a nationalistic, race-conscious point of view he will be subject to petty-bourgeois blindness to the exclusion of the crimes of working-class betrayals of the Stalinist gang of which his own race could easily become a victim to suit Stalinist policy.

Of course there is no racism in the Soviet Union. Even the vacillating Norman Thomas admits this. Why is this? It is because the Soviet Union is a workers state built upon working-class principles, however much they have degenerated.

Robeson's petty-bourgeois liberlism and his approach to the Negro question is not entirely wrong, I agree, but it is grossly inaccurate and always leads to disaster.

As far as one particular race having certain peculiar virtues, that almost sounds as if you have developed non-Marxist conceptions. Have you become a racist of the opposite extreme?

I have known Negroes well, never stopping to consider that they were anything but people. I spent some time in the South also. Negroes are mentally, physically and biologically like other human beings. Any claims to the contrary are nonsense. Negroes, therefore, are not inferior to whites. Negroes, therefore, are not superior to whites.

Many Negroes have come into the ranks of the revolutionary working-class parties. These staunch fighters have left a proud and noble heritage.

D. M. Steelquist
San Diego, Calif.

Protest May Save Two From Franco's Noose

Editor:

On April 30 Franco plans to hang two rebellious lads. You may be able to prevent it if you take prompt action.

Usually we hear about these atrocities in Spain only after the victims are dead. This time you have a few days to act.

Just after going to press today, this weekly received the following word from the Anarchist Federation of Britain:

"Unless pressure can quickly be brought to bear, two young anti-fascists will die at the hands of Franco's hangmen on April 30.

"These two fellow workers, Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez, members of the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth have been jailed in Spain since last August, when they were detained by Falangist forces near Irun after crossing the Spanish frontier from France. The 'crime' with which they were charged is that they resisted arrest at the hands of fascist authority.

"After arrest they were taken to police headquarters where they were 'questioned' about the underground resistance movement in Spain. To encourage them to talk they were beaten, hung upside down and submitted to other indescribable tortures. That they refused to divulge any information was admitted by a drunken police officer boasting publicly in an Irun cafe of the methods used to make them talk.

"If Franco is to be prevented from claiming two more victims from the Spanish working class, it is essential that protests should be made as quickly and as widely as possible . . ."

Fred Thompson, Editor
Industrial Worker
Chicago, Ill.

Public Utilities Extortions Can Be Ended By Nationalization Under Workers' Control

By Arthur Burch

Every time the workers are forced out on strike against a public utility or an industry directly affecting the public interest, we hear the same hypocritical cries from the industrialists and their mouthpieces in Congress, in the press and over the radio. Shedding crocodile tears at suffering and inconvenience from which they themselves are immune, the monopolists point the accusing finger at the underpaid and overworked strikers. These profiteers call upon every agency of government to break the strike. They hope their plans will be aided by the public discomfort they are responsible for.

This repeated performance has set American citizens wondering. Why should a private billionaire monopoly like the American Telephone and Telegraph Company have full control over 350,000 workers and be able to disorganize the lives of the entire population of the country by failure to give proper service? Strike or no strike, why should a handful of industrialists and bankers run a public enterprise for their personal profit? Why should not all utilities and industries affecting the public welfare be permanently expropriated and operated by the workers for the welfare of all the people?

POPULAR DEMAND

As far back as four decades ago, there was a strong popular demand for the government to nationalize the public utilities. It was already crystal clear that, if the monopolists were to be deprived of their special privileges to extort huge profits from the public, utility workers could obtain a decent standard of living and consumers receive important cuts in utility rates However, the mass resentment against the monopolies was temporarily sidetracked by the enactment of state legislation regulating public utilities.

Subsequent experience has adequately proved that government "control of monopolies" has meant monopoly control of government. The parasitic clique bribed legislators and judges and resorted to innumerable devices to hide their assets and profits They set up affiliates free from government control (like Western Electric) so that these subsidiary corporations could charge exorbitant prices in the sale of products to the public utilities. They hired professors to write and edit textbooks which painted glowing and false pictures of the advantages of monopoly ownership.

Few workers are fooled by these shenanigans of the profiteers and their government agents. The way the telephone strikers give battle to the billionaire telephone monopoly and the overwhelming popular support of their strike bear incontestable witness to this fact. Yet workers hesitate to support nationalization of public utilities because of their bitter experiences with government "seizures" in the course of recent strikes. They have correctly concluded that the federal government's "seizure" of the coal mines, packing houses, Montgomery Ward and other plants, as well as state "seizure" of public utilities, were moves coldly calculated to break strikes. Once this aim is achieved, then the industries have been turned back to the owners together with every penny of profit obtained during the period of alleged government ownership.

VIVID EXAMPLE

The mine experience is especially vivid in the minds of the workers. The American flag floats over the mines today and a few brass hats strut around in resplendent uniforms. But everything else remains the same as under private operation. The same terrible working conditions prevail; safety provisions are violated as before; the same supervisors manage for the same profiteers. Is it any wonder the workers resist this kind of "seizure"? Or that the telephone workers bitterly opposed the fraudulent New Jersey State "seizure"?

The truth is that these workers are learning the real nature of the state. They are properly appraising the federal and state governments as pliant tools of the profiteers. They are seeing for themselves that when the Twentieth-Century buccaneers cannot club the workers into submission in their efforts to cripple the unions and further reduce the standard of living, the entire federal and state governmental apparatus comes to the rescue of the profiteers.

Thus, until a Workers and Farmers government is established in this country, the workers are obliged, in defending their rights, to exercise special vigilance against the government as well as the employers. However, it is not seizure that is bad, but the hoax that has been called seizure. A genuine seizure would mean permanent expropriation of the industries affecting the public welfare.

Even under capitalist common law, a public utility which fails to provide the necessary service to the public automatically forfeits its rights and property to the people. But why should the people wait for a crippling of service before expropriating and nationalizing the public utilities? For not only is the question of a fair wage for the workers involved, but just as important, lower rates for the great mass of consumers.

PUBLIC FOOTS BILL

Today the utilities charge whatever the traffic will bear. Only on rare occasions and after the most prolonged litigation do the courts and commissions force the monopolies to scale the rates down. More often they are raised still higher. And the public foots the bill for such extravagant salaries paid to top officials as the $200,000 per year garnered by President Gifford of AT&T.

Over the years AT&T stockholders have received in profits several hundred times the value of their original investment. Even during depression years the giant AT&T paid $9 per year on each share of stock. In addition, stockholders were given the right to purchase new shares at almost half the market price, providing them with fat profits over and above their dividends. Government expropriation of this industry therefore should take place with no further reimbursement to the shareholders.

No one but a few racketeer monopolists will be hurt by nationalization of the public utilities. The workers will achieve a decent standard of living and the public will pay lower rates.

Can the government be trusted to operate the utilities in the interests of the public? Only if the utility workers and technicians exercise proper control. Fortunately, they are eminently fit to do so. Workers' control is an indispensable aspect of effective nationalization of public utilities. It is also an important step in the direction of setting up a genuine Workers and Farmers Government.

Letters To ACEWR Portray Dire Need Of Europeans

"Actually, we live on potatoes, of which we received 100 pounds a person since last October," writes a worker from Westfalen, Germany, in a letter to the American Committee for European Workers Relief.

"We have about four slices of bread a day, and other foods are distributed in grams. I don't even want to talk of them. For 22 weeks, we have not received even those few grams of food.

"In addition, there is the cold. Here we sit on top of the coal mines and those of us who do not work in the mines receive 100 pounds of coal-mud per family regardless of how many people, for a period of four months. This is so-called coal, which is a certain water by-product of coal. And with this, for six weeks without interruption, the temperature has been 10 to 15 degrees below freezing.

"In this cold and snow my 12 year old son walks to school for three-quarters of an hour in open wooden sandals. Out of wool blankets, which we actually need badly, my wife was forced to sew a suit for him. I have no suit which is whole. The icy wind blows through the marrow of my bones . . .

"For days there is no bread in the cities of the Ruhr Valley. Then you have to take the train or trolley to other cities or parts of the city to get bread and my wife goes on these travels to get bread with shoes that have holes in them. We walk on cardboard soles which break after 10 to 12 days, your feet get wet and cold.

"Friends and relatives have to take care of their own troubles. Generally the great misery has killed any consideration in people. People are attacked in the street, recently even killed, and their clothes are taken away.

"My wife has frost-bitten feet and it won't take long until we all have them. She only weighs 82 pounds and she is five feet six inches tall. Now just imagine pneumonia! You simply cannot think of it. Nobody must get sick.

"Thus, just at present it would be a relief for us to have an old pair of shoes on our feet. I enclose foot outlines. The next thing would be a pair of pants for myself . . . In case you could get a suit for my son, that would be very good.

"Dear friends, the only real light in this terrible situation is a little bit of spiritual food, such as your letter, and thus the perspective of help from you. With brotherly regards, yours, M. B."

The American Committee For European Workers Relief can send this worker and his family shoes and clothing, for generous friends keep us well supplied. However, often parcels of food, clothing and medicine are held up because there is not enough money to pay the postage. One dollar and fifty four cents pays the postage on an 11-pound package; $10.00 pays for a 21-pound food package delivered to the worker's home in Europe. Help these anti-fascists by contributing today. Checks and money orders should be made payable to the ACEWR and sent to 197 Second Avenue, New York 3, N. Y.

THE MILITANT ARMY

Cleveland, Minneapolis Launch Sub Campaigns

Two branches of the Socialist Workers Party—**Cleveland** and **Minneapolis**—launched **Militant** Subscription Campaigns last week. Initial batches of subs from both branches promise high-spirited campaigns.

"Having begun our Spring **Militant** drive with a Sunday subgetting expedition of 7 comrades," reports **Wally Byrne, Militant** Agent for **Minneapolis,** "we enclose 16 subs. Most of these subs are renewals due to the fact that we concentrated on callbacks. This seems a very good way to begin a campaign, as one meets with much less sales resistance. From now on, however, we expect to report a larger proportion of brand new subs as we make house-to-house canvasses. We are going to continue the drive through the month of May, and, incidentally combine it with propagandizing for our mayoralty candidate."

Almeda Kingsley, Literature Agent for **Cleveland,** writes: "Here are 10 subs, the result of our first mobilization for **Militant** renewals. We intend to hold a two-month renewal campaign. A prize of any book under $5 will go to the comrade with the highest number of subs. The branch is divided into two teams competing for the highest number of subs. The losing team, after the campaign, will subsidize either a dinner or a social affair for the branch."

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Buffalo's drive for **Militant** subs is bringing in scores of new readers. "I am sending 20 subscriptions to **The Militant,**" states **Charles Carlson,** Literature Agent. "Half of these subs were gotten in the shops and the rest on one of our drives. That means that 10 are from the different shops the comrades are working in . . . Ten comrades participated this past Wednesday night in obtaining new subs. As you know it is more difficult to obtain new subs than it is to get a renewal. We were out for a total of two hours in different sections of the city and in some cases we found it very easy to talk to the people and present our views to them."

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The **Flint** comrades obtained 8 subs during the week. **Militant** Director **El Snyder** says: "With the luck we have had these past three weeks—snow, floods, etc.—we have been slowed down somewhat in our **Militant** Drive. But considering all things that have come about, I think we are doing pretty good."

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Rena Breshi reports on **Boston's** subscription campaign: "Today we went out on the fifth week of our campaign. We tried out a new area which proved much more successful than the others. We got 19 subs, the highest number during this campaign. **Gert Worth** and I obtained 7 subs and were asked to return next Sunday for the money for another sub. **Sid Crabbe** followed next with Jane Weiner. They got 5 subs."

• • •

Ann Travis is taking over the literature work for **Lynn.** She mailed in 6 subs obtained by three comrades last Sunday.

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Milwaukee's Militant Manager, Fred Martin, sent in 7 subs with a promise of "more next week."

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The following report from **Miriam Braverman** of **Youngstown** accompanied four new 1-year subs to **The Militant:** "These subs were obtained by the **New Castle** comrades who are tireless in their work of spreading **The Militant.** They are partly responsible for the Youngstown branch's fine record in the **F.I.** campaign . . . We intend to get down to some steady sub-getting after our May Day meeting."

• • •

F. Lester mailed in 5 subs for **San Francisco** Branch, saying: "This makes 11 subs for **April.** We intend to hit our goal of 50 this month . . . The branch decided last night to launch a 6-week campaign for new subs."

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The **Akron** comrades mailed in 5 subs they obtained during the week.

E. Brent, Literature Agent for **Detroit,** sent in 9 subs secured by the comrades.

The **Chicago** comrades obtained 5 subs during the week.

• • •

Militant booster, **Mrs. H. Cameron of Santa Monica, Calif.,** asked us to send a new six-month sub to a friend in Ft. Wayne, Ind., and renewed a subscription to **The Militant** for a neighbor.

Celebrate MAY DAY With The Socialist Workers Party

NEW YORK
Speakers:
George Clarke
SWP Organizer Local N. Y.
John Williams
SWP Harlem Branch
Also:
Indo-Chinese Spokesman
For Viet Nam Group
in U. S.
Militant Chorus
A Dramatic Presentation
Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.
BEETHOVEN HALL
Fifth St. and 3rd Ave.

NEWARK
Speaker:
Mary Steele
Sat., May 3, 8:30 p.m.
423 Springfield Ave.

NEW HAVEN
Speaker:
Max Geldman
Phila. SWP Organizer
Sat., May 3, 8 p.m.
855 Grand Ave.

PHILADELPHIA
Speaker:
William F. Warde
Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.
1303 W. Girard Ave.

BOSTON
Speaker:
George Clarke
SWP Organizer, Local N. Y.
Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.
30 Stuart St.

BUFFALO
Speaker:
Farrell Dobbs
Editor: THE MILITANT
Sat., May 3, 8 p.m.
629 Main Street

CHICAGO
Speakers:
Joseph Andrews
CIO Trade Unionist
Homer Lewis
Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.
777 West Adams St.

DETROIT
Speaker:
Bert Cochran
Former CIO Leader
TURKEY BANQUET
Sun., May 4, 3 p.m.
6108 Linwood Ave.

FLINT
Speaker:
Sol Dollinger
SWP Organizer
Sun., May 4, 7 p.m.
215 E. 9th St.

YOUNGSTOWN
Speaker:
Bert Cochran
Former CIO Leader
Sun., April 27, 8 p.m.
35½ South Ave.

AKRON
Speaker:
Milton Genecin
Militant Chorus
Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.
8 S. Howard

PITTSBURGH
Speaker:
Sylvia Blecker
Sun., May 4, 3 p.m.
1418 Fifth Ave.

ST. PAUL
Speaker:
V. R. Dunne
SWP National Labor Secretary
Friday, May 2, 8 p.m.
540 Cedar St.

LOS ANGELES
Speaker:
Murry Weiss
Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.
EMBASSY AUDITORIUM
South Hall
517 West 9 St.

SAN FRANCISCO
Speaker:
Charles Curtis
Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.
305 Grant Ave.

SAN PEDRO
Speakers:
Louis Kisner
SWP Organizer
Myra Tanner Weiss
Los Angeles Organizer
Film Showing
"Brotherhood of Man"
Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.
1008 S. Pacific St.

SEATTLE
Speakers:
Dan Roberts
Margaret Webster
Dramatic Reading
Fri., May 2, 8 p.m.
1919½ Second Ave.

MILWAUKEE
Speaker:
Arne Swabeck
Banquet and Dance
Sat., May 3, 8:30 p.m.
608 S. 5 St.

MINNEAPOLIS
Speaker:
V. R. Dunne
SWP Candidate for Mayor
Thurs., May 1, 8 p.m.
10 South Fourth St.

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Open house and current events discussion every Saturday, 8:30 p.m. Admission free.

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Friday, 8 p.m. — Militant Workers Forum, 466 E. Vernon.

SAN PEDRO, Militant Publishing Assn., — 1008 S. Pacific, Room 214.

LYNN, Mass., 44 Central Square, Room 11. Discussion every Tuesday 7:30 p.m.; open Saturdays 1-5 p.m.

MILWAUKEE — **Militant** Bookshop, 608 S. 5 St., open 7:30 to 9:30 p.m.

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NEW HAVEN—Labor School, 855 Grand Ave., 3rd floor. Open 1st and 3rd Monday, 7:30-9:30 p.m. Sunday forums, 2nd and 4th of month, 8:30 p.m.

NEWARK—423 Springfield Ave. Phone BIgelow 3-2574. Library and reading room open week nights, 7-10 p.m.

Friday night forum, 8:30.

NEW YORK—CITY HQ., 116 University Place, GR. 5-8149.

HARLEM: 103 W. 110 St. Rm. 23. MO. 2-1866.

Every Thursday Open Discussion, 8 p.m.

BRONX: 1034 Prospect Ave., 1st floor, phone TI 2-0101.

Discussion on the SWP Program every Wed. 8 p.m.

BROOKLYN: 635 Fulton St., Phone ST. 3-7433.

CHELSEA: 130 W. 23 St., phone CH 2-9434.

OAKLAND, Cal.—Meetings Wednesday, Odd Fellows Temple, 410 - 11th St. For information write to P.O. Box 1351.

PHILADELPHIA — 1303-05 W. Girard Ave., 2nd floor. Open daily. Friday forum, 8 p.m. Phone Stevenson 5820.

PITTSBURGH—1418 Fifth Ave., 2nd floor. Office hours: Wed. 7 to 9:30 p.m.. Sat. and Sun. 3 to 9 p.m. Open forums Sun. 3 p.m. Tel. Court 6060.

PORTLAND, Ore. — Write to Socialist Workers Party, c/o C. M. Hesser, P.O. Box 3711.

SAN DIEGO—Headquarters 623 Sixth Ave., open 7 to 9 p.m. Monday through Friday.

SAN FRANCISCO — School of Social Science, 305 Grant Ave., cor. of Grant and Sutter, 4th floor open from 12 noon to 4:30 p.m., daily except Sunday. Phone EXbrook 1926.

SEATTLE—1919½ Second Ave. Open Monday through Saturdays, noon to 6 p.m. Tel. SE-0543 Library, bookstore.

Friday forum—8 p.m.

ST. LOUIS — 1023 N. Grand Blvd., Room 312, open Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 7:30 to 9 p.m. Forums Thursday, 8:30 p.m. Phone Jefferson 3642.

ST. PAUL—540 Cedar St., St. Paul 2, Phone Garfield 1137. Open daily 2:30-9:30.

TACOMA, Wash. — Meetings every Wednesday, 8 p.m., at Oddfellows Hall, 6th and Fawcett. Discussions on current topics. For information, write P.O. Box 1079.

TOLEDO—108 Summit St., Toledo 4, O. Open daily, Phone MAin 8919.

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BRONX
Spring Frolic
Chow Mein Dinner
Ping-Pong Dancing
Sat., April 26, 9 p.m.
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Bedford-Stuyvesant
Carnival Night
Hula Dancers
Side-show
Sat., Apr. 26
635 Fulton St.

AKRON
Film Showing:
"CZAR TO LENIN"
Documentary Record
Of Russian Revolution
Sunday, May 11, 8 p.m.
PAINTERS HALL
290 S. Main St.
Tickets 50c, Available
Socialist Workers Party
8 S. Howard

THE MILITANT

PAGE SIX — NEW YORK, N. Y. — SATURDAY, APRIL 26, 1947

Diary of a Steel Worker

May Day, 1947

By Theodore Kovalesky

A day might mean twenty-four hours; or it might mean the time from early morning until night.

A day might mean the eight or more hours you spent in the mill or factory. A day can mean a lot of things.

But some days are made of much more than hours, and they mean more than time. We have some three hundred sixty days each year that are merely packages of hours. But there are others made of different stuff.

There are some that are made of blood and dreams, black days of mourning and golden days of hope.

May Day is one of these. It isn't just a piece of daylight stretching between sunrise and sunset, not just a pile of hours that add up to another figure on your calendar.

It is a dream . . . and it is a reality. It is a time to look back with solemn pride and forward with hope and gladness.

May Day is YOU. It's you and all the rest of us. It's the workers of all the world with the vision of tomorrow in their eyes.

* * *

What does this mean to you? What are you doing, and what are you going to do about it?

Remember the eight Haymarket martyrs? They were men who wanted nothing for themselves. They went gladly to the hangman's noose and died for the cause of the working class. We think most of them on May Day.

But they weren't the only ones. We think of the other thousands who went the same way, the "working stiffs" who were shot or hanged by the vigilantes, beaten by the cops. They suffered for us.

They never looked for graft, for beautiful homes and new cars. They wanted the good things of life, but they wanted them for ALL of us. They wanted to build a new world within the shell of the old, a world where the workers would nevermore have to fear poverty, unemployment and war.

They lived for us, all those thousands of unnamed fighters, those anonymous heroes of the working class; and, when it was necessary, they died for us as well. And on May Day we honor them, for they are May Day.

We know these things. Can we stand idly by, remembering the cause they gave so much for? When we see the capitalists waging unceasing war upon the workers and threatening to wash the whole world with innocent blood, can we stand idly by and not pick up the red banner that they carried so bravely?

* * *

Those fighters of the old days wanted a new world. And we want a new world. We want a place where children can grow up in health and happiness, where the old folks who have worked quite long enough can sit on their porches and watch the sunset without the fear of insecurity.

We want a world of peace and brotherhood. We want a world where no man shall exploit another man, where no parasite shall live on the sweat and blood and misery of another man.

We want a world where no ruthless ruling class will be able to wreak economic havoc upon society and plunge it into depressions, when factories grow silent and mortgaged farms are deserted and run to seed while the people have neither work nor food.

We mean to carry on the fight. We mean to have this new world. But you — ? Where do you stand. Are YOU with us in this fight? Are you with us this May Day?

The Negro Struggle

From The Cradle To The Grave

By Larry Carter

Two front-page stories of the Afro-American caught my eye last week. One story reports the "new" policy of Army discrimination in cemeteries. Right beside it is a factual account: "Two Races March Together in Jersey Phone Strike."

The "new" policy, segregating burial sites in national cemeteries, was made public by the War Department's Information Bulletin No. 11. It specifically provides that present policies of segregation in existing cemeteries will be continued. It then extends Jim Crow burial in new national cemeteries by ordering four separate sections for burial: a. white officers; b. colored officers; c. white enlisted men; d. colored enlisted men.

Even in death the brass hats want the Negro segregated. They thereby give the lie to all their propaganda that World War II was for "democracy."

As a civilian, the Negro meets Jim Crow restrictions from the cradle all through life. Nor was this pattern altered in the armed forces. Except for a few token units in the "higher" branches, the Negro was restricted to the work battalions, quartermaster and engineer corps in the Army, and to the steward's department in the Navy. Now this policy is extended right to the grave.

This is proof that the brass hats and the government will never willingly concede equality to the Negro. The only way to make them yield on this score is by fighting them.

The second **Afro** story points the way to achieve equality. It reports that Negroes are among the most active strikers in all 14 of the New Jersey phone districts. (To be sure, the Bell Telephone Co. has never hired a proportionate number of Negroes; but those that have been employed, now show themselves to be in the front ranks of the picket lines.)

This common unity in action in the phone strike follows a growing union pattern of Negro-white collaboration against the employers. It represents a big step forward by the labor movement in the fight against Jim Crow as well as the fight for better conditions.

The brass hats still have the power to segregate workers in the armed forces. On the picket lines it's a different story. There, all the drum-beating and flag-waving in the world can't dim the fact that the workers need and are forging a militant unity to fight back against the corporations — the same corporations which coined billions in profits during the war, which have been slashing labor's living standards and which are now attempting to bust the union movement with savage anti-labor laws.

Labor is learning that only united action of Negro and white can successfully beat back the boss offensive. The lessons labor is learning through its own experiences are paving the way for an end to the Jim Crow system which plagues the Negro from the cradle to the grave.

May Day And The Children

By Grace Carlson

May Day has been designated as Child Health Day, says Katharine Lenroot, chief of the United States Children's Bureau. On this day, a campaign will be launched to conserve the lives of the thousands of American children who are now the victims of accidents and preventable diseases.

Those of us who celebrate May 1 as an international working class holiday will certainly be glad to include Child Health in our May Day program. As a matter of fact, it's already in our program. For when we renew our May Day resolution to continue the unrelenting struggle for the emancipation of the world's working class, we're thinking of the children of today —and even more of the children of the future.

If we don't build a better world for the children, who will? Not the agents of the U. S. Children's Bureau! Because even though there probably are some sincere souls working for this government bureau, they are unable to grapple with the problem of poverty. And it is poverty that causes needless suffering among children. It is the children of the poor who are driven to early graves.

Lack of proper prenatal and delivery care causes the deaths of thousands of infants each year. Physicians estimate that of the 75,000 babies who are stillborn, at least two-fifths could be saved and that of the 70,000 babies who die in the first month of life, one-half could be saved if adequate medical care were given their mothers before birth and at the time of delivery. Each year, there are some 53,000 deaths of infants in the second to twelfth month of life. The right kind of medical and nursing care, the right kind of food and the right kind of home surroundings could save over half of these young lives.

Much the same thing can be said about the possibility of reducing the mortality rate among children from one to 15 years of age. Every year, 14,000 children die of whooping cough, measles, diphtheria and scarlet fever; 35,000 from pneumonia and influenza; 19,000 from diarrhea and dysentry; 15,000 from accidents; 4,000 from cardiac conditions, chiefly rheumatic heart disease, 4,000 from tuberculosis. Exactly what proportion of these deaths are preventable is not known but there is no doubt that many, many deaths could be prevented if working class families had more money to spend on medical services.

We'll remember these young victims of capitalism this May Day when we raise our voices in the stirring **Internationale:**

"For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth."

Notes From The News

In Pt. Pleasant, West Virginia a slate fall killed one miner and critically injured another the first day the mine was opened following the UMW safety stoppage. The mine had been certified as safe the previous day by a Federal Mine Inspector.

* * *

N. Y. Department of Labor figures show unemployment rising, with the Negro people losing more than their share. Negroes represent 20% of all unemployed in the state.

* * *

Thirty-two FBI agents assigned to the George P. McNear murder case have been terrorizing active strikers belonging to the Railway Brotherhoods in Peoria, Ill. Night visits to workers' homes, entries without search warrants, and trickery in getting signed releases absolving the FBI of illegal methods, have marked the investigation.

* * *

The oldest labor dispute in the country was ended as the Toledo, Peoria and Western railroad signed up with the Railway Brotherhoods last week.

* * *

More Democrats in the House of Representatives (93) voted for the anti-labor Hartley bill than voted against it (84).

* * *

125 of the country's leading fire insurance companies paid fines totalling $2,090,000 to close the famous bribery case involving the late Boss T. J. Pendergast and other Missouri politicians. Pendergast was President Truman's political godfather.

* * *

The savings of the American people fell from 33 billion dollars in 1945 to 19 billion in 1946, the April **Survey of Current Business** reports.

* * *

A Negro candidate for City Council in Jacksonville, Florida, William Armstrong, took second place in a four-man contest for the Democratic nomination. A run-off primary will be held.

* * *

The OPA rent control office announced this week that it was decontrolling rents in more than 50 areas. The areas were not named.

* * *

"The claim that higher wages since last June are the basic cause for the sharp increase in prices is simply untrue . . . Our average wage-earner is worse off today than he was three years ago," says former OPA head Chester Bowles in the **N. Y. Times.**

Capitalist Greed Blamed In Texas City Disaster

Digging For Bodies In Texas Disaster

By lantern light and the glow of flaming debris, rescue workers dig for victims of the Texas City disaster that killed hundreds, wounded thousands, and laid waste the entire city. Federated Pictures

By Evelyn Atwood

In Texas City last week the worst industrial disaster in America since the First World War snuffed out the lives of between 400 and 600 people, with many dead still uncounted, injured 3,000 more and laid waste an entire city. Shudders of horror and apprehension swept over the nation as pictures and reports of this flaming funeral pyre were received. People were shaken not only by the deaths and destruction but by dire foreboding that this Texas catastrophe was a preview of the destructive powers that can be unloosed in atomic warfare.

A fire aboard the explosive-laden French freighter **Grandcamp** on April 16 blasted the vessel and most of its crew out of existence. This first blast set off a chain of explosions that for three days rocked the Gulf Coast and ripped through the jerry-built industrial Texas City.

The death toll was highest among the hundreds of workers in the $19,000,000 Monsanto Chemical plant, built at government expense during the war, which sprawled over 30 acres on Galveston Bay. No alarm was sounded in the plant when the **Grandcamp** fire started and none of the workers evacuated, although there was ample time to do so. The plant became a flaming shambles as its chemicals ignited. Other vessels in the Harbor exploded, including the **High Flyer,** also loaded with explosives.

Fifty huge oil tanks across two miles of waterfront blazed up in orange and black pillars of fire and smoke, resembling an atom-bomb explosion. Chunks of steel were hurled across the city, some as far as 15 miles away. Bodies and bits of bodies littered the waterfront. Clouds of poisonous chemical fumes filtered across the city, adding to the hazards and poisoning scores of survivors. Dazed refugees streamed out of the city, some bleeding from ears and nose as a result of concussion. Disaster squads shoveled the dead on trucks, while make-shift hospitals overflowed with injured and dying.

Who is responsible for this horror? The **N. Y. World Telegram** on April 17 states: "It comes in the category of those indefinable acts of God . . . seemingly there is no one to blame." This is a lie. Evidence is beginning to accumulate that capitalist greed and reckless disregard for the lives and safety of the working people are behind the disaster.

City officials, dominated by the big chemical and shipping companies, permitted flagrant violations of safety laws concerning the docking of explosive-laden ships. During the war this small seaport town boomed into an industrial and shipping center of 15,000, three times its pre-war size. Safety conditions in the narrow and crowded Houston channel, where Texas City is located, are notoriously bad. Shipowners repeatedly refused to adopt or observe needed safety measures.

CIO National Maritime Union officials point out that ammunition ships have no right to dock, but must lie out in the stream, handling cargo via barges. Yet the **Grandcamp,** admittedly carrying cases of ammunition, was docked at the pier for five days, loading tons of ammonium nitrate.

William T. Butler, expert on dangerous cargo shipments and now serving on the Coast Guard Board investigating the causes of the disaster, admits that nitrate is considered dangerous cargo. Nevertheless the Coast Guard failed to order these nitrate-bearing ships out into the stream.

L. D. Boswell, foreman of a working detail of longshoremen, testified that a man on the **Grandcamp** yelled up to the deck from the ship's hold that he smelled something burning. Some water was sent down to help extinguish the flames. But a request for more water was denied on the ground that it would damage the cargo. This cargo, so carefully protected for the shipowners at the expense of an entire city and its population, was the dangerous ammonium nitrate, loaded in paper bags.

Chemical experts, meeting in Atlantic City, stated that ammonium nitrate explodes with about 25% more violence than TNT. It can be set off by heat or through detonation of ammunition. Huge stockiles of ammonium nitrate were left at the end of the war. The government sold it cheap to investors who made big profits converting it into fertilizers. But the process of conversion is highly dangerous. The chemical experts warn that so long as this processing continues, danger of further explosions remain.

The Texas City workers bore the brunt of the disaster. Their flimsy shacks, covering some 70 blocks, were built in an arc of danger around the inflammable chemical plants and oil refineries on the waterfront. Among these workers were many Mexican-American and Negro families. This sector was virtually wiped off the map in the blasts and fires. As an afterthought, when city officials talked about rebuilding the destroyed areas, County Auditor Isidore Predecki of Galveston stated: "This town should be built up four miles from the tanks. That's the only way to insure safety."

Several investigations are now under way to determine the causes for the disaster. But it can be safely predicted that the responsibility will not be placed upon the real criminals—the big corporations and shipowners who put profits ahead of human lives.

Dunne Files As Candidate For Mayor Of Minneapolis

MINNEAPOLIS, Apr. 19 — Vincent R. Dunne filed today as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor in the coming elections. A former organizer for Truckdrivers Union, Local 544, Dunne was one of the 18 prisoners in the now famous Minneapolis Labor Case. He served a 16-month sentence in the federal prison at Sandstone, Minnesota during 1944-45. When he filed for Mayor, Dunne issued the following statement:

"There was a time in Minneapolis labor history when the candidate endorsed by the trade union movement and the Farmer-Labor Party was proud to stand before the voters of the city as a working class candidate opposed to reactionary business interests. In this campaign, however, we see the sickening spectacle of a labor-endorsed candidate for Mayor acting for the monopolistic American Telephone and Telegraph Company and against the hard-pressed telephone strikers.

"This is how Mayor Humphrey 'rewards' his cheaply-purchased friends in the leadership of the city's AFL and CIO unions. Determined to become a dominant figure in the national Democratic Party machine, Humphrey is launching a vicious campaign against militancy in the trade union movement — under the guise of an attack on 'communists.' As a Trotskyist, I have warned against the menace of Stalinism in the labor movement for many years. BUT the task of fighting Stalinism cannot be entrusted to the red-baiting enemies of the labor movement!

"In the past, the militancy of the Minneapolis labor movement won for it the respect of workers on a national and international scale. Great gains were made by Minneapolis workers both on the economic and political fields. These gains are being rapidly whittled away. The actions of so-called labor statesmen, with their child-like faith in the promises of labor-hating employers and their Democratic and Republican office boys, are speeding up this process.

"I ask for the support of Minneapolis workers and the friends of the labor movement as the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Mayor of Minneapolis. Now, as before, I stand for democracy in the workers movement; for a militant struggle for full social, economic and political rights for all who labor — men and women; white and colored; Jew and Gentile.

"A fresh start must be made. Long steps toward a better day can be taken by Minneapolis labor in this election. I stand for militant industrial unions, for an independent labor party, for elected workers' representatives everywhere, for a march to a Socialist World."

Grace Carlson, who has been named as Manager of the DUNNE - FOR - MAYOR campaign, announced that Dunne's keynote radio speech will be given over Station WMIN, Wed., Apr. 30 at 8 p.m.

Chicago Tenants Rally Support In Eviction Fight

CHICAGO, Apr. 21 — All tenants of the ramshackle firetrap apartment at 1733 W. Washburne, scene of the disastrous fire which took the lives of the four Hickman children on Jan. 16, were served with eviction notices by the landlord last week.

The tenants are organized into the Chicago Area Tenants Union, which was launched at a mass meeting following the fire. They have been on a rent strike since the day of the fire, in a struggle to force the landlord to put the building in a safe, sanitary and livable condition.

For months the tenants have been compelled to live under terrible conditions. They have no water, no lights, no gas. The holes in the roof left from the fire have not been repaired. When it rains, water pours into the apartments. The basement is flooded. Rats run loose and bite the babies. No fire escapes or other safety measures have been installed.

Appeals to the city authorities to enforce regulations of the building code, health and fire ordinances, have been futile. The city enforcement agencies have limited their actions to levying small fines against the landlord. In a series of court cases, a total of $450 in fines plus court costs have been imposed on the owners of the building. Presence of the tenants and attorney for the Chicago Area Tenants Union, M. J. Myer, was largely instrumental in forcing even these trivial fines.

Tenants will demand a jury trial, and are planning a collective defense against the evictions. The Chicago Area Tenants Union is mobilizing the tenants in the area to come to the aid of these tenants and to join the fight against the threatened evictions. A leaflet distributed in the vicinity — "TENANTS! FIGHT EVICTIONS AT 1733 WASHBURNE" — has aroused interest and helped rally the support of the community.

Hear V. R. Dunne
Minneapolis SWP
Candidate For Mayor
Station WMIN
Wed., Apr. 30, 8 p.m.
After News-Of-The-Hour Broacast

SWP Candidates Are On Ballot

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 18 — The three candidates of the Socialist Workers Party are on the Essex County ballot as delegates to the proposed Constitutional Convention. William E. Bohannon, George Breitman and Alan Kohlman will run against two full slates of 13, and six other minority candidates.

The Republicans filed a slate of 13 under the name "Clean Government Republicans." This is the name of the official Republican spokesmen for North Jersey Big Business, who refused a "bipartisan" deal with the Democrats. The Democrats did not officially file, but the 13-man slate titled "Non-Political Constitution Revision" is Democratic in composition.

The Communist Party filed two candidates. Four other individuals filed separately.

Proportional Representation And New Jersey Convention

By Alan Kohlman

NEWARK, N. J., Apr. 22 — The bill providing for election of a State Constitutional Convention on June 3 specifically bars the Convention from making any changes in the present method of electing state officials, or the number or composition of the State Legislature.

This undemocratic prohibition is intended to guarantee continuation of the present election methods and representation, which grossly discriminate against the sections of the state that are most heavily populated —that is, the sections inhabited by industrial workers. It is also designed to protect the undemocratic two-house State Legislature.

CROOKED DEAL

This restriction on the Constitutional Convention was the result of a behind-the-scenes deal by the Republicans and Democrats. These parties fight each other for the spoils of office and the reward of being the chief political errand boys of Big Business. But when it comes to keeping the working people from exercising their full weight at the polls, all the capitalist party politicians get together without any trouble.

The workers, too, must fight for their own class interests at the Convention. Towards this end, the SWP has already advanced two Constitutional amendments: (1) Defend labor's rights to organize and strike by writing them into the Constitution. (2) Expropriate the public utilities trusts and operate them by the state under workers' control.

We now raise a third issue in opposition to the bosses — For election of the State Legislature by proportional representation.

NECESSARY TACTIC

The matter of direct proportional representation is both a necessary democratic reform to insure representation of minority parties, and a tactical expedient to pave the way for election of Labor Party candidates. Under the present system, if the Republicans get 51% of the vote in Essex County, they get all 12 offices in the Assembly.

Now, every new attack of Big Business and its political stooges is further advancing in the minds of the workers the need for their own Labor Party. This Labor Party will not be built in a month, and it cannot be expected to win full power first crack out of the box. But it is absolutely necessary today, and perfectly practical today, to begin building such a Labor Party now in preparation for the fall elections to the Legislature.

If the workers could win proportional representation and poll even 9% of the Essex County vote (with real organization and political initiative, they could poll much more than that even in their first campaign) then, under proportional representation, they would have one Assemblyman. With 25% of the vote — three Assemblymen. It would be a real start to get some labor men down in Trenton to oppose the Republicans and Democrats.

VOTE SWP!

To be sure, the Republican-Democratic deal "legally" prohibits the Constitutional Convention from doing this. But by a broad campaign for proportional representation, the unions could upset this undemocratic prohibition. The Convention itself can become the means of initiating such a campaign. The best way to insure the opening of this fight, the best way to work for proportional representation, is by voting for the candidates of the Socialist Workers Party on June 3.

This is the fourth in a series of articles on the issues facing the New Jersey Constitutional Convention.